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A STUDY IN NATIONALITY

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NATIONALITY

BY THE
REV. J. VYRNWY MORGAN, D.D.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY
ANDREW LANG, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., D.LITT.,
ETC. ETC.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

I PRESENT this work to the public as an attempt to analyse some of the elements that have contributed to the making of small nations. It is addressed to English as well as Welsh readers. To the former it may facilitate a more correct judgment of a people that have suffered from unreasonable expectations on the one hand and unreasonable exaggerations on the other. As to the latter, I shall probably disappoint many and satisfy few. There are, however, two claims that I make. I have not disregarded the convictions of those who belong to different schools of thought, and I have exercised the inestimable right to the freedom of thought and opinion which is the heritage of every individual. How to reconcile the rights of the individual with the rights of the masses is a problem that is fast pressing itself upon the attention of statesmen and political scientists, and upon its solution will depend the scope and character of future legislation both in England and on the Continent.

J. V. M.

7th November 1911.

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PREFACE

I DESIRE to state that in addition to the research work which a volume of this character necessarily entails, I have consulted, among others, the following authorities:— Grote's *History of Greece*; Evelyn Abbot's *History of Greece*; *The Cambridge Modern History*; Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*; Webb's *Switzerland of the Swiss*; Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*; *The Principles of Religious Development* by Galloway; *The History of Scotland* by Andrew Lang; Dr. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland to the Accession of Mary Stewart*; Edward Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica* (1707), *Myvyrian Archaiology* (Denbigh edition, 1870); *The Reformation in Scotland* by Dr. Hay Fleming; *The Celtic Church in Wales* by Willis Bund; *The Welsh People* by Sir John Rhys and Sir David Brynmor Jones, M.P.; Frederick Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*; *The Church under the Commonwealth* by Dr. William Shaw; and *Anglo-Saxon Britain* by Grant Allen.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Hector Macpherson of Edinburgh for his uniform kindness and his great assistance in verifying dates and references in that portion of my work dealing with Scotland. My grateful thanks are due to the Rev. J. H. Lloyd, M.A., Rector of Aberedw, and Mr. Ifano Jones, Welsh librarian, Cardiff. To the latter gentleman I owe much.

Mr. John Ballinger, M.A., has also placed me under obligation to him in permitting me to reproduce impressions of the

two unique copies of the first piece of printing executed within the borders of the Principality.

Lastly, I must not omit the opportunity of expressing my debt to my wife for her invaluable services as well as the advantage of her knowledge and impressions of Scotland—the land of her birth.

J. V. M.

7th November 1911.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

THE EVOLUTION OF SMALLER NATIONS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

GREECE 3

CHAPTER II

THE NETHERLANDS REPUBLIC 26

CHAPTER III

SWITZERLAND 37

CHAPTER IV

SCOTLAND 54

PART II

CONTEMPORARY WALES

CHAPTER I

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY 139

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SURVEY 165

CHAPTER III

REACTION AND REORGANISATION 204

PART II (*continued*)

CONTEMPORARY WALES (*continued*)

CHAPTER IV

PAGE

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM 256

CHAPTER V

DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT 291

CHAPTER VI

THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEM 309

CHAPTER VII

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM 325

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION PROBLEM 369

CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES 401

CHAPTER X

THE WELSH IDEAL—WALES AND IRELAND 408

CHAPTER XI

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WALES TO THE THOUGHT-ENERGY OF THE WORLD 440

INDEX 517

INTRODUCTION

By ANDREW LANG, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Litt.

WITH Dr. Morgan's permission I write a brief Introduction to that part of his work which deals with the Reformation and its results in my own country, Scotland. Dr. Morgan is a Welsh divine of Wales, and after being myself honoured with the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology by the University of Breslau, I feel free from the reproach of a friend who dubbed me "an amateur divine." Both Dr. Morgan and I speak not only as D.D.'s, but as members of "small nationalities," each of them fertile since the Reformation in the production of schism and sects such as MacMillanites, Irvingites, "glancing Glassites," Auld Lichts, New Lichts, and Sandemanians.

Both of us are well aware that, in Dr. Morgan's words, "there has grown up around the Reformation . . . a mass of legend from which it is difficult to disentangle the truth." But I was hitherto unaware that among the legends "is that the high-water mark in architecture *was the direct result of the Reformation*"! (p. 56). Here, indeed, is a large sample of the mass of legend that hangs about the Reformation. The Reformers, in Scotland, "hated boetry and bainting," like George II. In my own beloved country, the complete pulverisation of mediæval architecture, save in a few examples, was the direct result of the Reformation. Mediæval works of art were destroyed as "monuments of idolatry," while everywhere the development of art, whether for good or evil, was no more the result of the Reformation than of the Council of Nice.

In literature, on the other hand (at least in England), the amazing splendour of the Elizabethan literature was concomitant with, if not caused by, the Reformation; while in Scotland presbyterial government refused the drama leave to exist, and the contemporary Scottish literature, in *belles lettres*, was, and long remained, insignificant.

Only persons under a strong delusion will differ from Dr. Morgan when he avers that "letters, art, architecture, painting, and music were not the distinct products of the Protestant

Reformation." As to music, the church organs were made into firewood, or, like a wicked French clock which fell into the hands of a Presbyterian forbear of my own, the works were scooped out,—because, as in the case of Prince Charlie's clock, "the heathenish timepiece played tunes on the Sabbath." So much for music: in art we had not even a portrait painter, as late as 1680, and "letters" were busy with polemical divinity, except in the hands of a few minor poets.

Dr. Morgan can recognise that intolerance, even unto slaying, was not confined to the ancient faith. Unlike a recent Nonconformist historian, *he* could not write the history of the Church of Geneva without making the most distant allusion to the burning of Servetus! But I am not acquainted with Dr. Morgan's evidence for the statement (p. 60) that John Knox "advised the burning of Gardiner and others of the Catholic party." As a biographer, and not a favourably prejudiced biographer of Mr. Knox, I never came across authority for this charge: if it is good, I bitterly lament having overlooked it. I feel sure that, if Knox advised any penalty against Gardiner, it was not the *Romish* punishment of burning. *That* he reserved for witches, and even they, I believe, were usually strangled first and burned afterwards.

Knox had a much higher opinion of Geneva than the Geneva doctors had of Knox. He went far too far for them on some points, and it may not be universally known that Calvin's immediate successors were terribly bored by what they thought the querulous complaints of the English Puritans who consulted them, and that they even expressed a friendly opinion of the English bishops who were being inveighed against. The Church discipline of Calvin might perhaps be valuable in a small "city state," a "City of God," but it did not bear transplantation to even a small nation like Scotland. A study of the records of kirk-sessions, dealing with peccant maids and bachelors, and profane swearers, and Sunday golfers, leaves one with the impression that ordinary morality did not improve under this régime, that sinners did not become less numerous, because they were put under sackcloth. True, Sunday golf was finally eradicated (happily for the links and the greens, which need a day's rest), but "Love would still be lord of all," and as for witches, the more they were burned, the more there were to burn.

In any case, as Dr. Morgan says, the sons of Calvinism have, in many ways, been splendid characters, tough and true as steel. But I doubt if the Puritans who put down the tyrannies of Charles I. and Laud, were "almost to a man, Calvinists." The Sectarians, the Independents, won the battle, and surely among them were many heroes of "fancy religions"; there were scores of these queer sects. "Not as their friend or child I speak," but they had their good points, and if Calvinism is necessarily Presbyterian, Milton and England rejected Presbyterianism, after getting all the help they could out of the Scots by a feigned acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Dr. Morgan, very properly (pp. 65–67), gives prominence, with Dr. Hay Fleming, to the extreme corruption of the Catholic Churchmen in the two, if not the three, centuries preceding the Reformation. We need not force an open door; "who's a deniging of it,"—of the corruption? Certainly not Mary of Guise, who tried hard to induce the Pope to reform the scandalous nuns; certainly not Archibald Hay, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews (1546); certainly not good Ninian Winzet, or Quentin Kennedy, or even the papal nuncio who secretly visited Queen Mary, taking his life in his hand; and certainly not Father Pollen, S.J., in our own time. Except the Observantine Friars, and a few priests like Winzet and Hay, we can scarcely find ten righteous men among the clergy who are known to us in the Scotland of the middle of the sixteenth century. Almost all were ignorant, dissolute, and avaricious. But the counter-Reformation came, and, despite Presbyterian persecution, many Scots of the highest intelligence, risking punishment, went back to the ancient faith as the more reasonable and logical in their conscience and judgment.

Dr. Morgan liberally allows that the intolerance of Knox was part of the force which established presbyterial government. To be sure the nobles and gentry would not allow the death penalties to be executed on Catholics, who had only to submit to fines, imprisonment, outlawry, exile, civil disabilities, and the pillory. The intolerance of Knox (not by nature an unkind man) sprang, I think, from the doctrine on which he often harps, that Catholicism is idolatry, is high treason to God, and that "idolaters must die the death" lest

God, very jealous of His glory, should punish the whole community at large for the high treason of individuals. *That* is Knox's doctrine, whether he invented it or picked it up in Geneva, I do not know.

As to our Protestant martyrs to the death, during the ferocious régime of the Church, I cannot find, nobody can find, more than twenty in a hundred and fifty years. They were usually "kinless loons," of low birth, without clans or names to avenge them, though Wishart was avenged by the murder of Cardinal Beaton. In the same way it was not safe for the Presbyterian preachers to punish Catholics to the death, and for these reasons there were few martyrs in Scotland under either régime; though Scottish law, in a day, converted the exercise of the old-established religion into a capital crime. It is not burnings that destroy, or all but destroy, a faith; it is the ceaseless daily grind of fines and disabilities and general injustice.

I confess that I cannot follow Dr. Morgan's historical statements (p. 79) as to why our "Scottish nobility accepted the Protestant principles." The nobility, in the minority of James V., were of various factions; it was not the nobility but the Douglases who held the boy-king captive, and when the Douglases were driven into England, and took English pay, they cared nothing about rival creeds, but accepted whatever creed might be that of their master, Henry VIII., at the moment. The Douglas faction had political and personal reasons for backing the shifting creed of Henry VIII.

When we come to the question of Episcopacy in Scotland (pp. 80, 81) we must remember that, before Knox's return in 1559, the Protestants in Scotland were introducing the English liturgy,—hateful to Knox,—and, as far as I am aware, had no objection to bishops save social objections. Bishops were often men of the middle classes: "smaiks," as the aristocrats called them. Knox himself was not a strict anti-episcopite, and James VI. was not the first to introduce Episcopacy. Twelve years after the Reformation, when James was a boy of six, the Earl of Morton, to serve his private ends, brought back bishops, and after that there were very few years in which bishops were not more or less *en évidence* till 1638. James VI. suffered such intolerable things from the preachers, and their claims to implicit obedience, and to the right to excommunicate men *with civil penalties*, that he needed bishops as a kind

of police, a buffer between him and the preachers. Nobody can approve of James's methods, which were of the "lobbying" and "wire-pulling" order (and worse), but any one can see that the preachers were working to dominate the State.

Nobody, perhaps, who is not a fanatic can deny, when he has carefully read the history of Scotland from 1580 to 1596, that the "sacerdotalism" of the Kirk (as Lord Guthrie calls it), the more than Hildebrandine claims of the preachers to "judge Angels," Kings and Ministers of State, and to be implicitly obeyed, in short, were absolutely intolerable and inconsistent with the freedom of the State. James had to do something to shake off this tyranny. He was hunted like a partridge on the mountains, seized in his bedroom, and insulted by wild Frank Bothwell,—with the approval of the Kirk. At the end of 1596 he had done all that was necessary, almost,—not quite,—he had not abolished the civil outlawry attending on clerical excommunication. But he went on to do the wrong thing in the worst way, to introduce bastard kinds of Bishops by pettifogging devices, and to increase their power by every unconstitutional *ruse*, till they excited the jealous hatred of the nobles. Charles I. went further, and reaped the whirlwind. The government of the Restoration, while despising the prelates and treating them as cavalierly as if they had been clerks in the Civil Service, made the same fatal error of restoring Episcopacy. The King "went coldly into it," knew his bishop-hating countrymen too well to approve of it, but indolently yielded to Middleton,—a fine soldier, but no politician,—and to Clarendon, whose sympathy with the Scots (like that of Charles Lamb) was "imperfect." In the Revolution Settlement (1689–1690), the error was avoided, while the preachers, outworn by a struggle of nearly thirty years, were deftly put in their proper place, and deprived of their great weapon, excommunication with civil penalties. The Government of Cromwell had taken this sword away, had prohibited General Assemblies, and preserved peace.

After 1690 the chief of the Kirk's sorrows was the revival of lay Patronage. The Jacobites, their own religion being persecuted, left the barb of Patronage to rankle in the bosom of the Kirk, and for nearly two centuries to be one cause (there were plenty of other causes) of Secession and Schism. The Disruption of 1843 arose from the circumstance that a Church, if it be

a State Church, must conform to the law of the land. If it does not like it, then it can leave it, and be a Free Kirk: so that every Scottish town or village may have, and often has, a *doublette*, an "Auld Kirk" and a "Free Kirk," perhaps also a "Wee Kirk," with, of course, an "Episcopal" Kirk and a Catholic Kirk, and a few miscellaneous Kirks. I know all of them coexisting, quite friendly, in a single Highland village. "What for no?" But Scotland, theologically, as Dr. Morgan says, "no longer stands where she did." Thanks to the Higher Criticism, the clergy may believe what they please, and some very queer things many of them do believe, while as to how much of the Apostles' Creed they accept, it does not become me to ask impertinent questions.

I must venture to differ from my learned author when, speaking of the Covenanters, he says that they "were engaged in a fierce struggle for liberty of conscience" (p. 83). They would have regarded this as a cruel libel. They declared that "the vomit of toleration" must never be "licked up," and they resolutely bade Charles II. inflict Presbyterianism on England. (I give you my reference. Mr. Wodrow's *Sufferings*, vol. i. pp. 66–71.) They urged the persecution of Quakers, Catholics, persons who used our Liturgy, and so forth. This was their fight for "liberty of conscience"! They fought like fiends, or paladins, for their own liberty of conscience, but that included permission to persecute any body whose conscience was not their own. That is the pity of it, but that is the historical truth of the case. The widespread belief, found in so many modern books, that the Reformers, or the Covenanters, or the Kirk after 1688, fought for "liberty of conscience," is part of the mass of legend which hangs about the Reformation. From the day when, as Knox tells us, the Congregation overthrew the religious houses at Perth, and threatened death against priests who celebrated Mass (1559), to the time when the Anglican cult was decried as Baal-worship, and the day (1711) when Mr. Greenshields was imprisoned for using the Prayer Book, the Reformed was a persecuting Church. You cannot easily conceive the lengths to which hatred of prayers not extempore was carried. It was an offence to say the Lord's Prayer in the service, and even for the minister to premeditate his own prayers. "These things are very uneasy to honest old men that have seen the glory of the old Temple,"

says Wodrow. In the old Temple the minister was expected to say, in prayer, whatever came into his head, by inspiration, at the moment. So vigorous a Covenanter as Brodie of Brodie, after hearing the Liturgy in London, wrote in his Diary, "I have seen, and daily, much disorder and extravagance in conceived prayers" (unpremeditated effusions) "which does afflict me."

I only want to shake, if I can, the belief that any of our Reformers and their successors were friends of freedom of conscience. In doing their best for education they were unconsciously opening the way to freedom of thought. But they had no more idea of what would result from education than had the Catholic bishops who founded the Scottish universities, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and, in origin, Edinburgh. The politicians of the Reformation, despite the noble scheme of Knox, robbed the universities. All was not ignorance even in the year of the Reformation. In the school of Linlithgow, Winzet was setting his boys Latin essays on important subjects, and probably he was not the only good schoolmaster. But to the Reformers, from Erskine of Dun to Andrew Melville, Scotland owed the introduction of Greek studies, and Oriental tongues soon became more generally studied than they are at present. Scotland was far in front of England in possessing a school of considerable poets, Henryson, Dunbar, and others, long before Luther's voice was heard. The school became nearly extinct, after the Reformation, in the din of war and controversy; under the Restoration the foremost man of letters—"that noble wit of Scotland," as Dryden called him—was the persecutor of the Saints, "the bloody Advocate," Sir George Mackenzie. He was a man of letters by nature, a persecutor only for professional reasons —not a good character! The men of letters of the eighteenth century sedulously copied the English style (indeed, Knox, as far as in him lay, wrote English, not Scots), and were sceptics like Hume, or Moderates like Robertson, in opposition to the party which platonically still loved the Covenant, Calvinism, and the burning of witches, itself the baneful result of an early Act of Knox's day. These Moderates were the clerics esteemed by Robert Burns, who, to be sure, was at once a Jacobin and a Jacobite.

However, I am not to follow my author in his roll-call of eminent modern Scots, though I can scarcely dare to accept

the compliment, "Scotland, within the circle of the smaller nationalities, stands, in relation to the modern world, where Greece stood in relation to the ancient." Post-Minoan Greece, he goes on to say, was original, "self-taught" like the minstrel of Odysseus. Her art and thought learned little from foreign contemporary peoples, while Scotland learned much from France, and, later, much from Germany and England. All Western Europe was a community, with constant interborrowings. The Scottish Reformation came from Geneva, with important features derived, I think, from ideas either peculiar to Knox, or by him emphasised beyond the measure of his masters and pastors. That the stern morality of the Genevan discipline greatly affected Scottish morality, I doubt. In rustic regions, before and after Knox, as the old popular songs, and many songs of Burns, attest, morality was much like that of the Sicily of Theocritus, though the Scottish priestesses of Aphrodite were firm on one point, "Laddie, ye manna whustle on the Sabbath."

I have not ventured to comment on the greater portion of Dr. Morgan's book, dealing with subjects of which I am ignorant—the history and modern conditions of Wales. The people are Celts. The people and the dynasty of Southern Scotland were English by blood, in language, and in most institutions, before the days of Edward I.

Of them it could not be said, as about so large a proportion of the Cymry, their language they kept; and it is a curious fact that they did not, like the Welsh and the Gaelic-speaking people, keep to their prehistoric poetic legends; even of Arthur the name only lingers like a cloud in the place-names of the Lowlands. These facts differentiate from each other the small nationalities of Scotland, which I know, and of Wales, concerning which I have everything to learn from Dr. Morgan. His lucidity of style, candour, and tolerance, and his wide and minute knowledge of his native country, make him a trustworthy enlightener of Scottish and English ignorance of the Wales of the past, and of the tumultuous to-day. For we are, as a rule, very ignorant, and a Scot is apt to know as little of the Welsh, as an Englishman usually knows of the past of Scotland. If we remain in this darkness, it is not the fault of Dr. Morgan.

28*th October* 1911.

PART I

THE EVOLUTION OF SMALLER NATIONS

CHAPTER I

GREECE

"IT is humiliating and depressing to be a citizen of a small nation; it is exalting and satisfying to be the subject of a great Empire." This statement, which is attributed to a distinguished soldier, is partly true and partly erroneous. Imperialism, whether in religion or in nationalism, is an exalted and an exalting conception. "Pax Britannica" is a lariat that attracts, holds, encircles, and consolidates. While it safeguards personal and domestic liberty, and fosters native or racial aspirations, it creates a sympathetic imagination which forms the basis of all federated and co-ordinated action. Our secular, and even religious education, needs a larger touch of Imperial colouring. To permeate nationalism with Imperialism is both the difficulty and the duty of the hour. It is the question that looms on the horizon of Britain. We have suffered from the limitations of provincialism on the one hand, and of nationalism on the other. We need a greater interchange of thought, of interest, and of the sense of separate and collective responsibility among all the component parts. Imperialism has both a political and a religious significance, but it does not necessarily mean extended culture, a deeper life, or a more solid existence. On the contrary, as history teaches, it may symbolise an ambition partly selfish, partly commercial, and partly buccaneering, immoral in its operation and injurious in its effect on the mind and temper of the nation that prosecutes it. We have an illustration of this type of Imperialism in the piratical enterprises under Drake and Raleigh in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in the Russian Empire, which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Europe had combined to check. In the age of

Elizabeth we behold a wild scramble for transatlantic empires through the discovery of the wealth of South America and the West Indies, when natives were enslaved and moral considerations were regarded as foolish sentiments.

There is another type of Imperialism less grossly material in its outlook, purer in its motive, and nobler in its ambition; an Imperialism waged in the defence of the oppressed, for the dissemination of knowledge, the extension of liberty, and the advancement of civilisation. Such, broadly speaking, has been the effect of British Imperialism both in Colonial and Oriental regions. It may not have been always well expressed, and it may at times have been influenced by unreasonable jealousy and fear of distant competitors. We cannot justify all that has been done in the name of progress, liberty, and humanity, even by British statesmen, soldiers, and reformers; but when British Imperial expansion is judged by areas and epochs sufficiently wide and typical, we cannot dispute the fact that it has added enormously, not only to the wealth of the world, but to the general sum of human intelligence, freedom, and happiness. Modern British Imperialism is the only Imperialism that has risen above the mere commercial conception of a nation's mission and obligation. Britain has not gone forth to conquer and to annex that she might subjugate, enslave, and oppress, but that she might commercialise, civilise, and autonomise. Britain governs that she may develop latent human forces, without regard to race or religion. She teaches her dependencies the elements of freedom, and trains them in the art of self-government, not merely by right of control, but by educational, commercial, and spiritual quickening. To be a citizen of such an Empire, which comprises one-fourth of the population of the globe and one-fifth of the surface of the earth, should be regarded as among the most exalted of human privileges.

But there are non-Imperialistic nations, small in number and poor in material resources, that have their golden memories in the annals of history. In war, commerce, or politics, they do not count for much, but when we enter the region of art, literature, and philosophy, or the region of the emotion, of creative intelligence, and particularly of religion, the influence

exercised by them fills an important page in human history. What is true of the smaller, is likewise true of the more obscure nations that cannot lay claim to such qualities as distinguish civilised communities, but which have, nevertheless, indirectly contributed to the common stock. The higher races cannot touch the lower without being influenced by their ideals, religious rites, and even superstitions. Did not the Norsemen learn magic from the Lapps? Did not the Jews of the ancient world implant the idea of the one true God in the moral consciousness of mankind? The influence a people exert cannot be measured by its number, or its reputation. European historians have given but little thought to the Icelanders of the modern world. Outside Scandinavia nothing practically is known of their antecedents, moralities, mentality, and progress. They have never numbered more than about seventy thousand, and for more than a thousand years have they been separated from the rest of the world by glaciers, volcanoes, and an inhospitable ocean, but they have produced a literature superior in literary quality to that of the Celts or Continental Teutons.

Take that once brilliant race, the Greeks. Athens and Attica put together had not more than half a million inhabitants, a large proportion of whom were slaves, but the Greeks have an immense tradition—artistic, literary, and historical. The number of volumes which tell of Greece is superior to the number of its inhabitants under Pericles; a more gifted nation never existed.

It is far back in the dim centuries, at a time when such knowledge as lies beyond the bounds of actual experience was limited in its scope and character, yet, what Imperial nation is there that can boast of an intellect more solid, or powerful?—an intellect that developed thinking, judgment, insight, memory, taste, will, and imagination; setting the human mind well on the road to freedom—the greatest and the highest of all derived qualities. Has Britain produced any logicians who overshadow Aristotle? Has anything been added to his disquisitions on rhetoric? Formal deductive logic still stands where he placed it. There is none to surpass him in the art of dialectical argument. In political

burlesque we have nothing to supersede the exuberant fancy of Aristophanes. Sophocles, who carried Greek tragedy to its highest perfection, still retains his pre-eminence. His seven plays rank among the master-works of the human spirit, and twenty-five hundred years have passed since then. We have no plays comparable to the Greek plays, and nothing to match the Parthenon.

West Virginia alone is larger than Greece; so is California. There is room enough on the American Continent for the population of the globe. It has 11 million square miles of arable lands; it is surrounded by an unlimited seacoast; it has a population of over 80 millions; it continues to receive additions of many millions of Celts, Germans, Scandinavians, and of various Slavonic races; it has an immigrant rate which is equal to its birth rate. We cannot perceive what type of mentality, or what soul, this marvellous race-admixture is likely to produce. We in Europe wear their cotton, and reap with their reapers; their rocks give us oil; their valleys, harvest; and their hills, iron. America has only one serious rival. Canada is destined, within a century, to have a population of 100 millions, and to become the centre of the British Empire—granary, soul, and rudder. But America's place in poetry, philosophy, and literature is not, and cannot be, in the same category as that of Greece. True, there are great personalities who adorn the literary and political history of the United States. Lincoln's three-minute speech at Gettysburg will stand the classic test of time. Edgar Allan Poe's tales form one of the landmarks and starting-points in the literature of the last century for French, as well as for English, writers. If the men who wrote that which was indirectly inspired by Poe, were to pay a little towards a monument in memory of that great and troubled soul, it would be such as to dwarf the Pyramids. But the general product of American genius cannot stand comparison with that of Greece, either in its richness, variety, or influence. Has America produced any sculptors like the Athenian sculptors? Any philosopher like Socrates or Plato? It is difficult to separate the modern sense of theology from the ancient. The terms are not equivalent. But have we any

theologians comparable to Orpheus or Hesiod? Any poets like Homer? There is Aristophanes of Byzantium; to him belongs the honour of having founded a school of grammar. Pythagoras, from a sense of humility, called himself simply a lover of wisdom, but he was the first to be given the title of philosopher. Eratosthenes was the first to establish the sciences of chronology and of astronomical geography, and to introduce a system of parallels of latitude, involving a correct method of determining the magnitude of the earth, and that without the aid of the instruments of a modern observatory. His method is still adopted. Hipparchus was the first to undertake a catalogue of the fixed stars, and to indicate their places in a map. It was Thales who determined the height of the Pyramids, and he did it from the measurements of their shadows. Euclid, the prince of geometers, was the offspring of Greek parents. It was Archimedes that demonstrated the first principles of statics, and his theory was the basis of all that was known of that branch of dynamics until the seventeenth century. Music was cultivated in Greece as early as the seventh century before Christ, and largely contributed to its development even in the Christian Church; Gregorian music being confessedly based upon the ancient Greek modes. It was in ancient Greece that dramatic poetry was originated.

No age, no civilised nation, can afford to ignore the results of Greek genius—a genius which has survived the old race that gave it birth, and which has passed beyond the limits of the country where it shone. The fame of Greece is as pervasive as the air we breathe, and he who knows most of the Greek language knows most of everything. Even a superficial study of it leaves an indelible impression. The study of Plato, Thucydides, and Demosthenes in our English schools has had a profound effect on English history; it has inculcated the dignity and importance of human affairs, the recognition of which is the first qualification for a leader of men. These studies produced the classical statesmen of the eighteenth century, whose busts decorate the upper school at Eton, and to whom our country owes so much. So long as the human brain remains what it is, there will not be found a genius, whether cognate or foreign, that can hope to do more, or

better, than imitate the *Iliad*, reawaken the echoes of the Academy, or fall back upon Greece for text-books of poetry, rhetoric, materials for grammar and criticism, and models of taste and refinement. In all the active centres of learning, whether America, Europe, or Asia, Greek genius stands alone; not only in the sphere of philosophy in general, but in the department of the specialised sciences, such as biology and psychology; it remains unconsumed and unconsumable. When we deal with Greece we deal with one of the great landmarks in the history of the human race; with the beginning of a language, the opening up of a national literature, the creative period in art, and in mind-glory. Has genius pushed its achievements, since then, to greater limits, or scaled greater heights? I do not care what aspect of genius or what faculty we accept as our test, whether it is the creative, poetic, philosophic, religious, or the faculty of inevitable thought; no modern nation can show greater or more lasting achievements.

Take the imagination, the genesis of all valuable creations of the human intellect. Is there a race which has exercised this heaven-born gift to a more beneficent purpose, which has kept it so well within its human limitations, or which has devoted it to higher aims in art and in poetry? What race is there which has given us a better example of how imagination, wisely controlled, may affect human happiness and progress? Turn where we will, whether to the epic, the lyric, or the dramatic form of poetry, we cannot fail to be impressed by the moral elevation and penetrating power of the Greek imagination; it touches the gates of truth, and mounts to the very throne of God. The only difference between Plato and Christ is, that whereas Plato made us know the true God, Christ showed us the way to Him. So thought Augustine. Christianity, we are told, is essential to progress; but the Greeks exhibited signs of successful progress unaided by the truths of revealed religion. The same may be said of modern Japan. There is Homer, the man who wove into the epics that bear his name, the legends, hopes, and possibilities of Greece ere authentic history had taken up the task. Can England, France, Germany, or America show any romance,

any epic, that is more individualistic and yet so national? Here is a work without a history, separate from the past, the sole relic of its own age, unexampled in its origin and perfection. So amazing is the excellence of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, that some great scholars have found it difficult to account for them except on the theory of Divine inspiration. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact that the works of both Homer and Shakespeare—two of the greatest of the children of men —stand out in such lonely and awful majesty, that not a few refuse to believe that they could alone or unaided write such works. As to Shakespeare, men have conjured out of their imagination a fantastic prodigy whom they call Bacon, and to whom they attribute the plays that bear Shakespeare's name. As to Homer, Jebb declared that the name of Homer belongs to the poet of the primary *Iliad*. But as Professor Mackail says, in his *Lectures on Greek Poetry*: "There was no primary *Iliad*." He takes Milton and argues that, by the methods of Homeric criticism, "It would not be beyond the powers of scholars to make out a plausible case both for a primary or original *Paradise Lost*, and for the attribution of *Paradise Regained* to a different author belonging to a later generation." Professor Mackail is contented to believe that by the development of the epic lays and the Æolian dialect "the potentialities of epic poetry were created; the time was ripe for the great epic poet. Then the great epic poet came.

"Somewhere on the Ionian coast, or among the adjacent islands, in a sky sown thick with dust of stars, a great planet rose. Homer conceived and executed the *Iliad*. That *Iliad*, in its main substance and its essential form, is the *Iliad* which we possess now." . . . "The poet," he says, "who produced the *Iliad* in the early prime of his life was a poet capable of the artistic and poetical change which is felt in the *Odyssey* among new surroundings, with an altered view of life, with an imaginative ardour burning less strongly, and with increased constructional mastery." In comparing the points of resemblance between the works of Homer and of Shakespeare, Professor Mackail writes: "Critical analysis and imaginative divination fail us when we come to the heart of the question. In both cases the personal note is as completely absent as it can possibly

be from any piece of human workmanship. We seem to be looking on the work of some impersonal force, a *deus absconditus*." He suggests that the women in the works of the two poets supply a key to the real man. It is a noteworthy fact that each lavished his most divine gifts on the women of his imagination. There is that "figure in the *Odyssey*, never equalled except by the creator of Miranda and Rosalind, the girl-Princess of Phæacia." Again: "Through both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the figure of another woman moves in a sort of golden mist. Her words over the body of Hector are the high-water mark of the *Iliad*. Even in the domestic surroundings of her regained home in Lacedæmon she moves in the same unearthly calm, the white splendour of the Elysian plain which is destined for her final abiding-place, and whose atmosphere she carries about with her even on this earth. All voices, like those of the Trojan elders on the city wall, fall soft when they speak of her." . . . "Perhaps the most touching of all Homer's women is one obscure and unnamed: the poor maid-servant in Ithaca who was weaker than the rest, and had to go on grinding all night to finish her task, when the rest of her fellow-servants were asleep. There seems here a touch of something actual that had come to the poet himself, and struck sharply through him the sense of the obscure labour and unsung pain that underlie the high pageant of life, war, and adventure, the feats and feasts of princes."

"The whole effect of Homer," says Professor Mackail, "is to exalt courage, purity, straightforwardness, mercy. It is through this quality, the incarnation of the whole strength and splendour of life, that Homer holds the place given him by Lucretius and Dante as the sovereign of the poets. It is one for which even praise seems inadequate, or inappropriate. Somehow or other we praise Homer, it has been said, too like barbarians. The mistake, perhaps, rather lies in our praising him at all." It is his unmatched power to express the sense of human greatness—greatness in love, in hate, in compassion, in revenge—that makes Homer, in the phrase applied to him by a later Greek poet, "the ageless mouth of the world." The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* still hold their forward place among the brightest treasures of the human mind, and their author still

retains his rank among the greatest poets of the world. Shakespeare cannot be said to be more than his serious rival. It has been observed that Homer's theology is imperfect and his knowledge circumscribed, but what of modern theology or theology in the sense it is now understood? Can it, does it, claim to be perfect? Is theological perfection possible? As to his knowledge, it is sufficient to observe that Homer was anterior to all literary aid and training—a man without a predecessor. That age did not possess more knowledge, wisdom, or culture than Homer exhibited.

We cannot name a period in the development of human thought when Aristotle's (384–322 B.C.) writings on natural science and metaphysics did not give an impulse to bolder intellectual speculation. Much of his teachings, it is true, especially his doctrine on the soul, involved the negation of the Christian belief regarding the resurrection and immortality. Yet the influence of both Plato and Aristotle is seen in that renaissance of learning which was inaugurated in the reign of Charlemagne. The great thinkers of the Middle Ages who determined the development of Christian Europe drew much of their inspiration from them. Aristotle's writings found their way into the Christian schools of the thirteenth century; they stimulated the speculative faculties, quickened the intellect, and stirred the consciousness of the thinking spirits of that and succeeding centuries. The Aristotelian doctrine of the soul became the battleground for the rival Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. It was the aim of St. Thomas Aquinas, the most constructive mind among the Schoolmen of that time, to harmonise the teachings of Aristotle, touching the doctrine of the soul, with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection and immortality.

So great and lasting was the influence exercised by Greek thinkers on various schools, that their force was felt at every subsequent stage in the history of the human race. It was felt in the region of art, philosophy, liberty, and science. Greek political philosophy helped to preserve the ideas of political liberty, it enabled the forces of progress to overcome the despotism of tyrants, and to place modern Europe on its feet. It gave rise to modern political philosophy, and supplies us with the first conception of the science of political economy,

and the first statement of the law of association of ideas. The founder of psychology as a distinct science was a Greek, in the person of Aristotle. Our accepted usage of the sense in which philosophy is to be understood,—philosophy as the mother, the disinterested critic, corrector, unifier, harmoniser, and co-ordinator of all the sciences; philosophy as a seeker after the essence and reality in opposition to the apparent and unreal; philosophy as a searcher after a system at once satisfactory both to the reason and the moral sense,—came from the Greeks. Theology, called the first and the highest branch of philosophy, because it deals with the highest and ultimate problems of life, was cradled in Greece. The origin of our philosophical conception of morality may be said to be due mainly to Thespis. This is a justifiable inference from the purport and use of a tragedy. Ethics, that branch of philosophy which treats not of knowledge but of conduct, is bound up with the development of Greek thought. The highest ideal of religious faith, public and private duty, came to the Western world from the fertile mind of Pindar, the greatest of her lyric poets.

When the Romans in 454 B.C. decided to form a code of laws, the first thing they did was to send Commissioners to Greece to report on the laws of Solon at Athens, and the laws of other Greek towns. Not only did Rome discuss, copy, translate, and adapt the laws of Greece, but she copied her art, classics, philosophy, plays, tragedies, mythology, literature, and language. Among the young men growing up at Rome in the days of Cato, to know Greek was equivalent to being a gentleman. When the Roman love of learning developed, it became fashionable to buy Greeks who were learned, and Greeks were therefore slaves. The Roman temper towards the Greek was one of contempt. But what would Rome have been without the inheritance she received from Greece? It was the Greeks that taught the Italians how to read and write; from the Greeks they got the very rudiments of their civilisation and the higher classes their religion. Greek libraries were founded in Rome and the first history of Rome was written, at Rome, in Greek. The fathers of Roman literature were Greek tutors. Whether we study Rome in its infancy or in its greatness, there are clear evidences of the controlling influence

of Greek thought. The first empirical analysis of language was prepared by the philosophers of Athens; it was from the Greeks that the grammarians had their first ideas of numbers —of a singular and a plural. In tracing the history of empirical grammar, we have to follow it from Athens to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Rome, from Rome to England, and from England to India and to the public schools of Europe. What is true of the philosophy of language is true of the philosophy of the mind; our modern system of education is impregnated with Greek thought and ideas; the impulse still remains.

As to the history of Greek ethical ideas, it is as romantic as it is instructive. At one stage they are connected with sacrificial worship; at another, they are separated. Now they successfully overmaster the anthropomorphic polytheism of the Ionians; now they are superseded by a compound of cosmogonic and physical conceptions, but at no period are they overthrown, for they had in them elements of reality and permanency. There are maxims of morality in the writings of Socrates and Plato that might well cause many modern theorists in ethics to stand back abashed and overwhelmed. We call the old Greek poets and philosophers "Pagans." What is a "Pagan"? A man who is not a Jew, a Mahommedan, or a Christian. What is a Christian? A believer in and a follower of Christ. Technically, the old Greek ethical teachers could not be styled "Christians," for the reason that they lived before the dawn of the Christian era. It is difficult, and it may be impossible, to furnish an exact definition of the Greek soul. According to Renan, the Greeks were the least religious people in the world, though Frustel de Coulanges claims that the Greek life incarnates the religious life *par excellence*. However, the purity and nobility of the older Greek poetry is in striking contrast to much that passes for poetry to-day: there is none of that reeking naturalism and morbid sneaking form of vice that characterise the productions of some of our most popular writers. We find much in the commonplaces of the modern drama that would scandalise an Athenian audience. The intense and unrestrained passion of *Romeo and Juliet* would have been deemed improper by the

characteristic Greek taste. What of the prurient maunderings over the sex problems in the popular novels, in the songs and plays of our day and generation? What of our romance that seems to have an irresistible tendency to vignettes of sensationalism, and the more cancerous forms of debauchery? Can it be said that the æsthetic aims of this age are less gross or material than those of ancient Greece? Indeed, are they as pure, or as noble? England did not fare better in the Georgian epoch of Hogarth and Fielding; at no period has she fared better. The drama of this hour runs to unwholesome melodrama: symptoms of decadence everywhere abound. Call the old Greek poets and dramatists "Pagans" if you will, but you cannot say that they were triflers or sensualists. On the contrary, they were men of high and serious views, with an inborn taste for the beautiful; men of profound moral convictions, who pondered long and deeply over the problems of human life. While distinguished for a well-bred courtesy towards those in authority, they never hesitated to reprove or correct even sovereign princes. Their poetic compliments to the warriors of their race never degenerated to flattery, and their hearts beat true to the cause of national freedom. There was an ancient Greek sentiment, and it prevailed for generations, which justified the practice of deceit and treachery in order to overcome an adversary; then it was an acknowledged maxim of conduct. To-day we dare not avow it publicly, because England is "Christian" and Europe is "civilised"! But the politicians who rule Christian England may practise the art of deceit and prevarication with impunity. It is even regarded, and secretly applauded, as the hall-mark of supreme cleverness. The diplomats of this and other lands vie with one another in the art of intriguing and circumventing; such is the difference between "Pagan" Greece and "Christian" Europe.

But there were poets and philosophers who rose above the prevailing thought-currents of their time. Pindar (522–443 B.C.) was one. When we take a broad view of Greek morality it needs no apology, even from our modern Christian view-point. Pindar was born five hundred and twenty-two years before Christ, but the high moral tone of his ethics is reflected in such solemn declarations as the following: "The minds of

men are quick to acquiesce in guileful profit at the expense of justice, but a stern day of reckoning approacheth. The bitterest end followeth upon pleasure that transgresses justice. God boweth down many a proud man. If any man hopeth to elude the gods in doing aught, he erreth." Consider what Pindar thought of destiny. There was an earlier and a lower view of Fate, as there was of deceit and treachery. The earlier view represented Fate as an irresponsible blind force, operating outside and independent of cause and effect. But Pindar's mind had outgrown much of what was characteristic of earlier Greek ethics. To him Fate had become the abstract expression for the wise and just decrees of that divine will which is personified in Zeus. He often speaks of the "fate of God" and the "decree of Zeus." None the less noble are his exhortations on the power and uses of riches. "Wealth," says Pindar, "is mighty in power when mortal man receiveth it at the hands of destiny mingled with pure virtue, and so conducteth it to his home." Money power second only to mind power (for in reality it is the creation of the mind) is, in Pindar's estimate, worthy power, only when adorned with virtue, and used with moderation. In relation to the social influence that goes with the possession of wealth, authority, nobility, and sovereignty, he enforces the lessons of justice, moderation, and mercy. "Do not be deceived by fallacious gains," said he to the Hiero, the mightiest of Hellenic sovereigns, when at the zenith of his fame and power, "Whether thy deeds be good or evil they will have many witnesses." Is there any modern romance, or disquisition on filial piety, that is more exquisite in its tenderness, or more appealing in its naturalness, than Pindar's story of young Antilochus, who with his own blood saved the life of his aged father, Nestor-Antilochus? Not only Pindar, but Greek poetry in general recognised and taught a love more abiding than life itself. Not much does he say about the love of the sexes, but he knew of a purer and more innocent love than the frenzied, maddening love-passion in classical Greek poetry which sweeps its victims on to ruin as well as to bliss. Equally gentle and elevated are Pindar's passages dealing with the uses of sorrow. "Let us not nurse our grief," he said in

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an ode written after the battle of Platæa, "nor fail to put on garlands. Let us cease from useless lamentation and sing a sweet public song, even after our trouble."

From Pindar let us turn to the ethics of Socrates (469–399 B.C.). He affirmed that the "Gods take pleasure in good actions, and the practice of virtue," that "virtue alone places both the body and the mind in the utmost degree of perfection," and that the consciousness of having done our duty "must yield perpetual complacency and satisfaction." The duty of prayer he enforced both by precept and example, but to be acceptable, it must be the prayer of humility. When he prayed his petition was only this: "that the gods would give to him those things which were good." And this he did, forasmuch as he felt that they alone knew what was good for man. "Gold and silver, so far from being the best things, might be the worst, and might be more wisely withheld than bestowed."

A review of Greek ethics, cursory and limited as it must be in an essay of this character, must include a reference to the ideas of Plato (429–347 B.C.) concerning virtue, justice, and happiness, which are worthy of a place among prophetic and apostolic utterances. "He taught," says Henry Rogers, "that might can never constitute right; that perfect virtue is the highest element of happiness; that the morally wrong can never be the truly expedient; that the good and the beautiful cannot be severed; that it is always, and under all circumstances, better to suffer an injury than to do one; that even the most successful crime is but a splendid misery, and involves, by inevitable necessity in the remorse it awakens, its own invisible and infallible avengers, and that only he is a virtuous man who acts as virtue bids him, even though he should be assured that neither detection nor punishment awaiteth his crimes." "When any one prefers beauty to virtue," he says, "what is this but the real and utter dishonour of the soul?" And in another place he asked: "Will life be worth having, if that higher part of man is destroyed, which is improved by justice, and deteriorated by injustice?" Hence the noble prayer with which he closes his *Phædrus*: "Grant, ye gods, that I may become beautiful within, and that whatever of external goods I possess may be friendly to my internal purity. Let

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me account the wise man rich; and of wealth let me only have as much as a prudent man can bear or employ."

One of the striking characteristics of the Greek intellect was its union of penetrating force with spiritual susceptibility. It was subtle, discriminating, and responsive to the divine breath which wandered over it, prompted and instructed it. What did the Greek intellect teach? It taught the world the need of a divine revelation, and taught it right up to the limits of human intelligence. It taught that the gods visited wrong-doing with vengeance; it even invented the Furies. Greek theology had no devil, but it had a God. The Romans thought of God as the principle of adaptation, but Greek theologians and philosophers represented the Divine as a combination of the beautiful and the good. It expressed the highest possible development of the ideal character.

No estimate of the Greek religion would be worthy of serious attention that did not take into consideration the mental attitude of the race, their pursuits, incursions into Asia, contact with heathen Semitic worship, power of affiliation, racial and tribal antagonism, and their innate belief in the Divine power as being immanent in nature. Neither ought it to be assumed that the Greek oracle, the sanctuaries, the creation and duplication of the various divinities, were merely the cunning devices of a fraudulent priesthood, political intrigue, or the fruit of a degraded imagination. In all the vicissitudes of their religious life, with its polytheistic anthropomorphism, its awakening to higher visions, its lapses into blindness and superstition, there was an honest attempt at obtaining a more satisfactory knowledge of the mysteries of life, of the qualities and destiny of the soul, of death and the beyond. Moreover, apart from the antithesis of democracy and aristocracy, which was essentially political, there were tribal differences, including a variety of views as to atonement for wrong-doing, method and degree of punishment, place and function of the gods.

These facts, combined with the geographical complexion of the country, made uniformity of population, and uniformity of religious belief, difficult of attainment; though it deserves to be mentioned that the Greeks reached religious unity before

they reached governmental or constitutional unity. As to the original constituent or complexion of the Greek religion, there can be no doubt that it was monotheistic, for their early life had been spent with the Aryans in Asia, at a time when this primitive conception of God prevailed among them. But the Greeks, like the Indians and Iranians, with whom they were once in organic, social, and religious affiliation, had an instinctive disposition towards the belief in God as immanent in nature. It was inevitable that this innate tendency should exercise a modifying influence upon their religious life and history. In the monotheistic conception of God among the primitive Greeks there was the crude idea that personality was form, and as God was to them everywhere and in all things, their decline into the polytheistic conception is not difficult of understanding. There were later attempts at recovering lost ground, as was manifested in the Dorian reaction and the system of natural philosophy developed in the Æolian theogonies. The reaction, however, only accelerated the process of deterioration, and only served to emphasise the truth that intellectual culture and religious culture do not run along parallel lines—that they often move in contrary directions. But "idolatrous Greece," as it has been called, even in its most idolatrous period never lost the Divine thought, never gave up the quest for eternal truth, eternal justice, and eternal beauty; all proceeding from, and united in, One Eternal Being—the supreme and ultimate good. Greece knew no science higher than this; it was the mainspring of all their intellectual activities, and the basis of all their ethical and theological conceptions.

It is not within the province of this treatise to enlarge upon the problem of reconciling universal Energy with Divine personality. Some have a difficulty in including personality in their thought of God, on the ground that it is too anthropomorphic, but impersonality is really as anthropomorphic as personality. Whether we use the term "Force" or the term "Father," both are terms of our cognizance, and therefore anthropomorphic, essentially. Force itself, and *as* Force, cannot control; there must be a will behind it, and will is a personal attribute—that is, it belongs not to

things but to men. As to the question of an animal personality, it is a sufficient answer that animal will is irregular, capricious, and arbitrary, whereas in nature and the movements of the heavenly bodies there is the most astonishing regularity and orderliness. Such orderliness would be impossible in a universe which was governed by an arbitrary and capricious will. Behind this will there must be reason by which it is controlled, therefore this prime power, this universal energy, must be personal.

What were the characteristics of the Greek religion? One distinguishing feature was its exaltation of humanity. Most of its gods were nothing but poetical names, and were gradually allowed to assume a divine personality never contemplated by their original inventors. They were glorified men and women, who had performed works of valour, or who were renowned for their gifts of mind and their virtue. Their deeds were recounted in popular tales and songs, and their memory perpetuated in inspired verse. The Greek thought was that however gifted a man might be, or however brilliant his exploits, he would soon be forgotten after his death, unless his memory was preserved by inspired song. Even unsuccessful valour and slighted virtue received posthumous fame in Greek religion. Ajax was robbed of the golden arms of Achilles by the wiles of Odysseus, and, despised and alone, met death by his own hand. But Homer caused him to be honoured by all mankind, exalting his prowess by the "wand of his divine songs," and telling it for later bards to delight in. "Over the fruitful earth and across the sea it fareth—the splendour of great deeds unquenchable for ever." The gods of the various poets and of different periods did not possess the same degree of intelligence or morality. The gods of Pindar and Æschylus were more godlike than those of Homer and Hesiod—less sensual and material. Pindar, however, was a good Greek, and he recognised the affinity between gods and men. "One race there is of men, and of gods, and from one mother (*i.e.* earth) we both draw our breath. But a power all distinct divideth us, since we are but nought, while for the gods the brazen heaven abideth, an ever sure abode. Yet in something we are like the immortals, either in lofty mind, or in nature, though we

know not to what goal, by day or night, destiny hath marked that we should run."

Another ideal of the Greek religion was that "Sorrow and imperfection are inherited in all earthly life." To the Greek mind this was the profoundest of all sadness. Even the most highly favoured of their heroes were suspect to this inscrutable and universal law. "Like other men must they suffer from the uncertainty of fate, and the certainty of sorrow and death, God alone being free from sorrow in heart." Over against one blessing, there were two ills set by the immortals. A preponderance of brightness or prosperity is not permitted. "Sorrow cometh after joy; catastrophe followeth on the heel of triumph; reverse succeeds fortune; despair alternates with hope." Life to the Greek was an intermingling of happiness with misery; hence moderation stood high among the cardinal virtues of their religious faith—moderation in the use of power, riches, glory, achievement, and sorrow. "Reveal not to others the grief that cometh upon us. That which is fair and joyful in one's lot it is meet to show forth publicly to all the world. But if God-given calamity visit man, it is better to veil this in darkness. It is not well that every truth should show its face."

What had Greek religion to say regarding the question of a hereafter? It was inevitable that a mind like the Greek mind—reflective, penetrating, and in its trend so profoundly religious—should seek to pierce the veil that hides the future. Aristotle thought that death was the end of all—the end of all the love, the friendship, the purity, and the thought that had brightened and enriched the lot of man on earth. Heart-rending and intolerable would the thought be if, as Aristotle thought, character be wasted in the dust, and the interest of our dear ones in us be broken for ever when the last sigh is heard, and the last farewell uttered. What an appalling cloud! Better had we never known the romance of true love, or had never enjoyed a mother's friendship, or had never tasted the joys of religion. How the human heart finds satisfaction in the revelation of Christ, that death is only an incident in life! The telescope of Aristotle's reason only carried him a certain distance. The telescope of the higher

power which goes under the name of revelation, was unknown in those ages. But Aristotle was not a representative of the Greek mind, in its more serious and reflective mood, upon the question of the immortality of the soul. Greece had seers other than Aristotle. Homer believed in a future state both for the good and for the evil. But his future life is of a sad and gloomy kind, and it has but little happiness for the good. A few offenders are punished, but most of the departed lead in Hades an existence which is but a dim reflection of their activity in the present. There is very little to mark the different lot of the good or the bad. Thus, the hero Achilles, he wails that he would rather be a poor man's slave in the bright realm of light, than to rule as king among the dead. Pindar went a step further; in his famous passage in his second Olympian Ode he says: "When we depart from this world, the guilty souls at once pay the penalty, and for the sins done in this realm of Zeus a judge sitteth beneath the earth, telling their doom with stern compulsion. But the good enjoy the sun by day and night alike, and receive as their lot a life free from toil, not vexing the earth with labour of their hands, nor the waters of the sea, for a scanty sustenance. But with the august divinities they enjoy a tearless existence (if they have taken delight in keeping their oaths), while the wicked endure a burden of sorrow too sad to look upon." This is a great advance upon the negation of Aristotle, and even upon the ruder Greek theology of Homer, Orpheus, and Hesiod. The gods of Homer were manifold, and share all the vices and imperfections of men; but we trace in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the dawning conviction that human conduct is subject to superhuman influences, and liable to superhuman retributions. We also discern, however dimly, the likeness of God, "who loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity." Indeed, as we advance towards the Advent we find the atheistic absurdities of the popular Greek religion receding, and a higher conception of God, the soul, and life to come, taking its place. In Pindar's second Olympian Ode we have a concrete conception of heaven that is but little inferior to the heaven of the Christian faith of a very few generations back.

Socrates gave the doctrine of immortality, for the first time, a philosophical basis. He taught the faith of a future life and a future retribution on the ground that it corresponded with the intuitions of his own soul, and the instinctive aspirations of his own heart. He felt that the idea of immortality was in conscious adaptation to the longings and susceptibilities of his own nature. He preached the doctrine of future retribution as a necessity in the course of Providence, of justice, and of virtue. This faith he thought was reflected in the common traditions of all ages, and in the universal convictions of mankind. To him the life hereafter was not a break, but a continuation and an unfolding of the life that now is; for ever seeking wisdom, for ever having revealed to him new treasures of knowledge, and for ever experiencing fresh longings and aspirations. We call Socrates a "Pagan Philosopher," but his philosophy is more Christian, and truer to the inward nature of man, than much of the philosophy that is current in the twentieth century. Is there anything more pathetic, more elevating, or that has a greater appearance of a revelation from God, in the teachings of modern philosophy, than in the closing words of Socrates at his trial? "O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or in death. He and his are not neglected by the gods; nor has my approaching end happened by mere chance. But I see clearly that to die and be released is better for me . . . the hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die and you to live. Which is better, God only knows." Is there any modern martyr who faced death with greater serenity, who stood stronger in virtue, and who looked toward the eternal sea with greater hope?

There is his disciple Aristocles, known to classic fame as Plato; so called, because of the breadth of his shoulders, or, as some suggest, of his views. Plato urged his master's doctrines with equal earnestness as one of the great moral truths to which conscience bears its univeral witness. Indeed, it was the certitude of these moral truths that formed the basis of all Greek philosophy. Plato taught the divine parentage of the soul, and spoke of death as its release from

the body, a release welcomed by the wise and the good. He urged it on intuitional and philosophic grounds, as well as on the grounds of reason. His arguments, which are found in the *Phædo*, the *Phædrus*, and the tenth book of the *Republic*, have been summarised as follows by an able philosopher and theologian:—

"1. The soul is immortal, because it is incorporeal. There are two kinds of existences: one compounded, the other simple; the former subject to change, the latter unchangeable; one perceptible to sense, the other comprehended by mind alone; the one is visible, the other invisible. When the soul employs the bodily senses, it wanders and is confused; but when it abstracts itself from the body, it attains to knowledge which is stable, unchangeable, and immortal. The soul, therefore, being uncompounded, incorporeal, invisible, must be indissoluble—that is to say, immortal.

"2. The soul is immortal—because it has an independent power of self-motion—that is, it has self-activity and self-determination. No arrangement of matter, no configuration of body, can be conceived as the originator of free and voluntary movement. Now that which cannot move itself, but derives its motion from something else, may cease to move and perish. But that which is self-moved never ceases to be active, and is also the cause of motion to all other things that are moved. And whatever is continually active is immortal.

"3. The soul is immortal, because it possesses universal, necessary, and absolute ideas, which transcend all material conditions, and bespeak an origin immeasurably above the body. No modifications of matter, however refined, however elaborated, can give the absolute, the necessary, the eternal. But the soul has the ideas of absolute beauty, goodness, perfection, identity, and duration, and it possesses these ideas in virtue of its having a nature which is one, simple, identical, and, in some sense, eternal. If the soul can conceive an immortality it cannot be less than immortal. If, by its very nature, it has hopes that will not be bounded by the grave, and desires and longings that grasp eternity, its nature and its destiny must correspond."

But Plato taught the doctrine of immortality not only on

the grounds of reason and philosophy, but also as the motive of a virtuous life. He dwelt upon the moral issues of the stupendous truth of personal immortality. Every soul, he affirmed, bears with it into eternity the impress of "the deeds done in the body," and will be judged with reference thereto. "To go to the world below having one's soul full of injustice is the last and worst of all evils." He therefore urges the doctrine home with great earnestness as the grand motive of a virtuous life, for "the reward is noble and the hope is great." "O my friends," he says in the *Phædo*, "if the soul is really immortal, what care should be taken of her, not only in respect of the portion of time which is called life, but of eternity! And the danger of neglecting her from this point of view does indeed appear to be awful. If death had only been the end of all, the wicked would have had a good bargain in dying, for they would have been happily quit, not only of their body, but of their own evil together with their souls. But now, inasmuch as the soul is manifestly immortal, there is no release or salvation from evil except the attainment of the highest virtue and wisdom."

Such are some of the aspects of Greek thought as applied to the question of a future life. They represent not only the mind of the brilliant lyric artists of those ages, but the best sentiments that swayed the hearts of the people in their best moments. They surpass in impressiveness all that we read elsewhere in classical poetry, and much that is current in our day and generation. Of the philosophic poets who gave them utterance we might say, like Pliny, that they were men of more than human ability, and the efforts of their genius have left an everlasting impress on the intellectual world. Christianity, it is true, has since lightened up the uncertainties that characterised some phases of Hellenic theology. Faith soars higher and with a clearer vision of the limitless power of the human soul, its kinship with divinity, and its ultimate assurance of a glorified hereafter. But those Greek seers who were schoolmasters unto Christ, have laid humanity under an obligation to them for their comforting —if imperfect—visions of what lies beyond the veil, for their testimony to Him "who loveth righteousness and hateth

iniquity," and for the witness they bear to the existence of the unseen intelligence who encircles us and marks our conduct. To honour God, these Greeks tell us, is the first and greatest commandment. The wrong-doer cannot escape the penalty, since the wrong he inflicts recoils upon himself. Though a brief prosperity may be granted to the transgressor, righteousness alone secures an enduring triumph.

> "Wrong weighs the rich man's conscience to the dust
> When his foot stumbles on the way unjust;
> Far different is the path, a path of light,
> That guides the feet to equitable right;
> The end of righteousness enduring long,
> Exceeds the short prosperity of wrong."

Rapid, and inadequate, as this survey may be, it serves to show, that name for name, the intellectual leaders of Greece may be classed with those of any race or of any land, whether in art, poetry, tragedy, comedy, philosophy, metaphysics, or dialectics. In Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Pheidias, Praxiteles, Archimedes, and Thucydides, we have not only the first-class minds of the ancient world, but the pioneers of research, the openers of the ways in which truth-seekers have been travelling ever since. They stand for the whole range of things with which the mind can busy itself. Neither have they outgrown their personality. Their names are not merely simple words, but store-houses of suggestions: they carry with them the qualities of the abstract truths to which their memories have been attached. When we speak of Demosthenes we speak of eloquence; when we speak of Plato we mean pure thought and imagination; Socrates stands for philosophic common-sense. These leaders of thought epitomise history; they represent historic qualities, and they stand to-day for all they have ever stood.

CHAPTER II

THE NETHERLANDS REPUBLIC

THERE is Holland. What a handbreadth of territory! In area about twelve thousand five hundred square miles, and at the time of the Reformation with not more than three million inhabitants. "A mere handful of people and a worm compared to the King of Spain," said William, Prince of Orange, to Don John's deputies while discussing the pacification of Ghent. Yet what wealth did that territory represent! What healthy political action! What valour! What martyrdom! What patriotism! What faith in the true glory of civilised men! Here is a solid and a permanent contribution to the advancement of human kind, and among the triumphs of which Europe is now living. The ideas for which the Netherland Reformers fought serve as our guides in this day and generation. The union of the Netherlands was in many respects the prototype of our own, though not so vast or powerful. The principle of toleration emerged out of that struggle into an entity, and heralded the dawn of a new and a better age; it coloured and affected the literature and the politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The spirit of liberty was never seen in more majestic proportions; never did patriots express their wrongs with less exaggeration, or proclaim their rights with greater moderation; never was a movement for constitutional rights prosecuted on lines more in accord both with national laws and with the laws of nature; never did a cause rest so much upon facts and so little upon fantasies. Not that their Constitution admitted of no improvement, but it was as much as the world had a right to look for in the sixteenth century. The Netherland Reformers did not enter into the conflict with cut-and-dried theories and doctrines;

they had neither democracy nor aristocracy in their minds; they had no express intention of establishing a Republic; that was a social and a political development. These Reformers were willing to be governed and had a strong disposition for hereditary sovereignty, combined with popular representation; but they claimed that government should be founded upon reason and justice, and that it should exist, primarily, for the benefit of the governed. Even a Sovereign had duties as well as privileges, and should he fail to perform his allotted task as Protector, the States had a moral and a lawful right to depose him and to elect another in his room. These rights were proclaimed in defiance of a vast, intolerant, and overshadowing ecclesiastical organisation which was allied to the mightiest empire on earth. The union involved the right of the Church to prosecute; it involved the mutual obligation of the Church and State to work together in the realms of art; feeling and judgment it disregarded; it disregarded the distinction between the political and the religious, and repudiated the twin-principle of conscience and individuality that formed the ground-work of the Reformation. But even the Pope had to be consistent, and even the King had to be loyal. The unity and supremacy of the Catholic Church, the unlimited authority of the King, were alike absolute. The State utilised the Church to further its own purposes, and the Church put forward the State to minister to her own greed, and to extend her dominion; hence arose Wars, Crusades, Persecutions, and Inquisitions. The deeds of both Church and State at that period represented the utmost refinement of diabolical cruelty. In order to keep the faith pure, and to effect the extirpation of heresy, every means, however loathsome, was considered proper and legitimate. While deeds dark and hideous enough to cause hell itself to shudder were being perpetrated, monks carried standards on which were emblazoned the crucified Saviour and the Virgin Mary; while innocent children with their mothers were tortured, and had their tongues torn off from the roots, priests were haranguing the multitude on the blessings of the Inquisition, and melodious chimes sounded forth from the belfries of cathedrals.

In vain did the Netherland Reformers look to France or

Germany—whether Catholic or Protestant—for encouragement. Even England, a country supposed to be the bulwark of Protestantism, stood aloof during the initiatory stages of the conflict. Queen Elizabeth, a Princess descended from the blood of Holland, hesitated and prevaricated; partly because of the perpetual dangers that threatened her from the side of Scotland; partly because she dreaded the wrath of Philip; partly because of the perversity of her own nature. Elizabeth was weak in will and incapable of promptness, but as it becomes the character of patriots to act, and not to wait, when action is imperative, the Netherland Reformers fell back upon their own resources, and proceeded on the maxim that the best way to trust God is to do the best for oneself. True, the Queen at a later period lent her credit, and England established the principle of subsidy and protection. Never did a Queen espouse a worthier cause, or a nation befriend a worthier people—brave, law-abiding, industrious, patient, and prodigal in nothing save in the shedding of their life-blood.

Those days were days of conflicting passions and interests; the days of the formalist and the theologian, when truth was supposed to be in the custody of the priests, when repression was the most potent form of argument. The system of absolutism had only one logical result, namely, the suppression of individual opinion; and the instruments of suppression were as brutal as were the amusements of the people. Justice halted and erred. The Anabaptists received as little consideration from the sects as they did from the Papists and the Royalists. Intense and prolonged were the conflicts between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. The violent and unseemly disputes between Luther and Erasmus regarding predestination, between Luther and Zwingli concerning the real presence, did much to menace and to dishonour the cause of the reformed religion. Dissenters were not unwilling in their turn to resort to excommunication and even to the faggot—the evil demon of religious bigotry had tainted the whole body politic. In the hands of the Iconoclasts reformation degenerated into destruction, though both Catholic and Protestant historians agree that while they destroyed Catholic churches and images, they committed no personal violence and no acts of confisca-

tion. Bitterness begets bitterness, and persecution begets counter-persecution, abuses follow in the wake of reform. It is not unnatural that those who were devoted to freedom should over-step the bounds of moderation in the exultation of temporary triumphs.

The age was one of intolerance, a more presumptuous and less candid age than our own. It was merely a question of power; whoever had the might had the right. "There is something to be said on both sides," was an unborn maxim. Civil and ecclesiastical power were largely autocratic. Conscience was coerced by law, and persecution was regarded as a necessity. It is a sad reflection on human nature that when minorities are converted into majorities, they become oppressive. The battle for toleration has been won—theoretically; practically it is only partially applied. This is the iniquitous irony of civilisation. Cromwell and his followers committed just those breaches of the law for which they had brought Charles Stuart to the block. The Pilgrims went to New England to escape persecution in the Old Country, but they instituted the most violent and ingenious persecution against the Quakers in their new home. Toleration in the twentieth century is more of an ideal than a fact. The legal facilities for avenging upon those who decline to subscribe to our political and theological maxims are not within our reach, but the spirit that brought "heretics" to judgment, torture, and death, still survives. It is in our Trades Unions, Nonconformity, Anglicanism, our political system, that hybrid god of Undenominationalism, and in the Church of Rome. With the latter her boast is that she changeth not; and in that respect she is, at any rate, both honest and consistent. Theology still goes before piety, party before principle, and sect before sainthood. But what would have become of the world were it not for "heretics"? What would have become of toleration were it not for "Atheists" and "Agnostics"? Monks and ecclesiastical statesmen have checked and betrayed the cause of freedom; they have robbed religion of its sweetness, its catholicity, and its universality, and made it exclusive, pedantic, and aristocratic. Toleration was for princes and gentlemen, not for weavers and tailors.

What would have become of Holland were it not for the "ignoble herd" whose only crime was the rejection of the Pope as the dictator of their consciences?

No system can be compared to that of Rome with its combination of politics and religion; with its pride, its insolence, its tyranny and self-sufficiency. For refusing to make obeisance to a crucifix when they met it in the street, men were persecuted and tortured; they were slain and executed by thousands, for no other crime than that of reading and preaching the Word of God, and for practising private worship at home. They were arrested on suspicion, convicted without defence, and put to death without right of appeal. "Ye are bloody murderers," said a poor idiot when he saw his patron bound to the stake —a man of charity and of virtue. Two days later he picked up his half-burned skeleton, and carrying it through the streets to the house of the Chief Burgomaster and laying his burden at his feet and the feet of the Magistrates who were with him, he exclaimed: "There, murderers, ye have eaten his flesh, now eat his bones!" "What rites do you practise in your own homes?" asked the inhuman Titelmann of a man and his wife and two sons who were under arrest. One of the sons, a mere boy, answered: "We fall on our knees and pray to God that He may lighten our hearts and forgive our sins. We pray for our Sovereign that his reign may be prosperous and his life be prolonged. We also pray for the Magistrates and others in authority that God may protect and preserve them." There never was simpler or profounder eloquence. It is recorded that it drew tears from the eyes of some of the judges who formed the civil tribunal, but the lad was consigned to the flames, and when he prayed, "O Eternal Father, accept the sacrifice of our lives in the name of Thy beloved Son," one of the monks, who was lighting the fire by which the lad's flesh was consumed, cried out, "Scoundrel, thou liest! All Hell is opening, and ten thousand devils hurling you into eternal fire." Men had their arms and legs tied together behind their backs, their bodies hooked to iron chains and made to swing to and fro over a fire until death released them from their agony. No deeds were too bloody for those who executed the decrees of Philip with such unhesitating docility. They stained

the altar of God with the blood of the innocent, and darkened the hearthstone of the Fatherland by the wholesale massacre of unarmed children. The marvel is that there was a God in heaven who could look down on such depth of woe, and that the stones in the streets were not moved to mutiny by such unspeakable atrocities.

Amid all this desolation there was one solitary human soul to whom the tired hearts and weary spirits of the Netherland patriot looked for consolation and encouragement —William, Prince of Orange (1533–1584). He was the hinge of the whole movement for reform; a man far removed from all sordid aims and ignoble passions. Were it not for his superior intellect, courage, and character the whole of the Netherlands would have shared the fate which was reserved for the more southern portions. Philip was the titular Monarch, but Orange was the moral Monarch; he was substantially the Netherlands' Ruler. He never lost control over himself, or his grip over the people. Not that they understood his motives or comprehended his character, for of self-government, the very life-blood of liberty, they knew comparatively nothing. Toleration was an enigma to them; they saw no reason why he should be lenient to Catholics; or why he did not exclude Anabaptists from the rights of citizenship. For his attitude he was criticised by the foremost Protestant statesmen of the time, but William of Orange was not thinking of the sects, but of the Fatherland. He wanted freedom of conscience to exist *for* them and *with* them. He sought to infuse his own idea of toleration into the minds of the people, and his record presents one of the most remarkable examples of the action of a resolute will and a great intellect, unmoved by base passions. Even in what may appear, in the light of history, to be errors, we see the influence of the predominant state of his mind. In order to gauge the strength and complexion of his personality we need to analyse the atmosphere of his existence. Daily contending with the strife of sects, patrician jealousy, wavering provinces, and democratic insanity, overwhelmed with debt because he carried the burden himself, assisted only by his brother and a few friends; forced to rely on mercenary soldiers, always prone to mutiny; harassed by

the wretched parsimony of the States, which were more proficient in argument than in generosity; stung by the tongue of slander; circumvented by the stupidity of extremists, and foiled by clerical intrigues; branded by the King as an "enemy of the human race" at the instigation of Cardinal Granvelle; and a sum of twenty-five thousand crowns in gold offered as a reward for his person dead or alive at last, six attempts were made on his life, and four men were waiting to compass his death when he was killed by a fanatical Catholic who posed as the son of a martyred Calvinist. The murderer bought the instruments of death out of the money William of Orange gave him as charity, and his estates were made by the King to supply the funds from which the assassin's family received the price of blood, and which elevated them to the rank of nobility. What Rome could not do, and Spanish statesmanship could not accomplish, the dagger did; it destroyed the possibility of a United Netherland.

Moreover, Orange had arrayed against him the most daring and romantic crusader in the annals of chivalry, the man who humbled the Crescent as it had never been humbled since the days of the Plantagenets, and the greatest General since the time of Julius Cæsar, Don John (1545–1578), son of King Charles V.—handsome, keen-witted, strong-willed, and fascinating, just the man to appeal to the Spanish imagination. He was no mean foe, for he combined talent with ambition, courage with ferocity, opinion with bigotry, passion with hatred, suavity with adroitness, bravery with barbarity; the most illustrious chieftain in Europe, whose fame as the hero of Lepanto and Granada had gone forth throughout the world. At his back stood the Pope with his Edicts and Anathemas, the King of Spain, notorious for his cruelty, and the Catholic Hierarchy, insolent and unscrupulous. In the Council of Don John were the most talented Generals of the time; and his Spanish soldiers were the boldest, bravest, and most experienced in the world. How different Don John's history would have been, how different his reputation, and even his character, had he been fated to fight for a worthier cause! He had many admirable qualities; he had the grace of gratitude, the genius for friendship, and was

capable of remorse. He never expected his subordinates to face any danger which he was not willing to face himself. He served his brother the King with fidelity, with heartiness, and with love; yet he was allowed to end his days in a wretched hovel, formerly used as a pigeon-house, without money and without comfort, scorned in the shadow of death and insulted when he could no longer speak for himself. His broken body was divided into three parts and packed in three separate bags, and suspended at the saddle-bows of different troopers to save the expense of public transportation. According to classic historians, the fragments of his body were fastened together with wire after their arrival in Spain, the body stuffed, attired and bedecked with jewels, and supported by a martial staff. It is said that his brother, the King, was moved to emotion at the ghastly spectacle.

Don John's nephew and successor, Alexander of Parma, came upon the scene under more auspicious circumstances, for the pledges of the Treaty of Ghent had been violated, and the peace in the Union of Brussels had been turned into an instrument of strife, and the fires of religious discord had been re-kindled throughout the provinces. Persecution had regained a foothold; internecine feuds abounded; mischievous demagogues incited the passions of the people; malcontents, mercenaries, and freedom's enemies were given a new lease of power. Alexander of Parma gauged the situation quickly and truly. He was artful and fearless, a gladiator in spirit and in appearance. He was Don John's equal in courage, but his superior in military genius, in patience, in concentration of character, and in the power of controlling men. He was a Romanist to his finger-tips, who regarded all dissenters as ignoble herds, fit only to be tortured, burnt, and executed without mercy and without distinction. He pursued the same policy as that of Don John, only with greater skill and ferocity. That policy was the extermination of Protestants, the extinction of the reformed religion, and the restoration of the unlimited authority of the King. He was more fortunate than Don John, because he was stronger, more patient, more subtle and devilish; an expert in the art of bribery and dissimulation. He succeeded in dividing the Walloon

Provinces of Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douay, and Orchies from the rest of the Netherlands, and uniting them in a separate league under the dominion of Philip and the supremacy of the Catholic religion.

Little wonder that William of Orange was an old man at forty-three. It was his idea to combine the country into one free and prosperous Commonwealth, governed not by the Spaniards but by natives, with liberty of conscience and of action. His ideal did not come to full fruition, partly owing to his own obstinate and inexplicable refusal to accept the sovereignty of the united states, and especially of Holland. It is a remarkable fact that the man who fought that power and authority might be invested in the people, should have such little confidence in their sanity; he believed that a single chief was requisite for the united states, but he always refused to become that chief. By this act of self-abnegation, actuated by a desire to avoid the imputation of self-aggrandisement, he unconsciously inflicted a serious loss upon the country; it prolonged the strife and caused untold suffering. The seven provinces might have, and probably would have, been seventeen had he accepted the sovereignty of the united states; it is certain they would have accepted none other. It is difficult if not impossible to explain his conduct in enforcing the Duke of Anjou, the wooer of Elizabeth, Queen of England, as Sovereign of Holland and Zeeland and the rest of the united Netherlands; and that in spite of the protests of the people. Anjou was a tyrant, a dissembler, and a knave, who hated the reformed faith. William of Orange misread his character. He was also thinking of France with a hope of obtaining her assistance. Such political consideration proved very disastrous. He died at the age of fifty-one years, sixteen days, on July 10, 1584. Had he lived longer it is possible that the issue would have been different, but before he died he secured the political independence of the country, with civil and religious liberty, and the total expulsion of the ancient foreign tyranny from the soil. Had the Prince of Orange been less brave, less wise, less faithful, less patient, and had his character been less sterling in its worth, the establishing of that Republic would

have been an impossibility. His life gave existence to an independent country; his death defined its limits. The Monarch lived to witness his tragic death, and to hear the little children cry in the streets of Hollas as "Father William" was borne to his resting-place; but they mourned over a conqueror, who, through tears and blood, had planted a free commonwealth in defiance of the Inquisition, under the very battery of the most brilliant generals in military annals, and the most powerful empire in existence.

It is not necessary here to enter more minutely into the constitution of the Netherlands Republic, which existed in fact from the moment of the abjuration in 1581. It is sufficient for the purpose of this work to emphasise the lesson that William of Orange and his associates fought not only for their own freedom and constitution, but for the freedom of Europe. They fought for the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, for the right of combination among citizens for the good of the community, for a charitable attitude towards the convictions of our fellow-men who differ from us religiously and politically. They fought for the extension of thoughtful inquiry in opposition to the prescriptive rights of tradition, for the confirmation of the principle that where the realm of conscience begins, State authority ends. These are the ideas which animated them, and which since have been embodied in other laws and other constitutions. They had no foreknowledge of the issue of their pains and sacrifices; they had no plans and no innovations in their mind; no premeditated results. When they adopted the Union of Utrecht, which was signed by the Prince on May 3, 1579, little did they dream that it would be the foundation of an independent Republic to last for two centuries, and which was declared at the Hague on July 26, 1581—a Republic that became the first naval power, and one of the most considerable commonwealths in the world, and which was to throw a girdle of dependencies entirely round the globe. The true reformers are not they who first conceive a rightful and a fruitful idea, but they who get that idea planted in other minds and lands. It is of the very essence of heroism that the hero should not

be certain that his cause will triumph. The hero must suffer and die without knowing the issue of his sacrifices. Such heroes were the Netherland Reformers, and the pathos of it all will remain a memory and an inspiration; not only will it remain, but the glory of it will be heightened as the generations come and go.

CHAPTER III

SWITZERLAND

SWITZERLAND to-day is the production of centuries of conflict and change. For the first awakening of its higher life as a well-organised and prosperous state we have to go back to the year 1798, the date of the adoption of the Helvetian Republic. Previous to that time the civil and political institutions of Switzerland were of a very antiquated character. It was not a Confederation in the sense that it is at present, for there was no real common Parliament, no common judicial tribunal, and no central executive. There was no real political power, for the members of the Diet or Parliament were tied down to certain restrictions. They could not go beyond the instructions of their respective Cantonal authorities; the minority could not be bound by the decisions of the majority; there was no basis for federated or co-ordinated action; the whole social organism was loose, irregular, and fragmentary, and was held together with difficulty; whatever unity existed was unreal and superficial; subjects were held by right of purchase and conquest; the franchise was limited, and so was eligibility for State offices; the "Patricians" monopolised the Government; punishment by torture was recognised; monasteries abounded, and education was in a very imperfect condition. Of the science of government the mass of the citizens knew comparatively little, for they had not been educated in the manner of free countries. Neither can it be said that they at any time exhibited those modes of thought, elements of unity, and the psychological requisites so essential in a self-governing people. Ideal—the excelsior of every progressive soul and every progressive nation—the sense or the perception of something finer, truer, and higher—

was absent, and so long as this nascent inspiration is wanting in any people they must of necessity remain in vulgarity and in incompetence. Without the upward motive and the springs of aspiration, social regeneration is impossible. The country was made up of combative fragments, and there was no sympathy or co-operative harmony between the various sections of the Confederation.

Instruments of instruction and opportunities for the interchange of thought were few; social misdemeanours were frequent and grievous, each party seeking to increase its own strength by dividing the strength of its antagonist. In no other part of Europe were such diverse religious, racial, and linguistic elements in contact as in Switzerland at that period—Lombards, Burgundians, Italians, Alamannians, Rhaetians, and Celts. In the Protestant Cantons there were Calvinists and Zwinglians, animated and governed by the memory of the theological controversies of the sixteenth century when a wave of spiritual awakening swept across Europe; expressed and organised in Germany by Luther, in Geneva by Calvin, and in Scotland by Knox; rousing asperities, threatening dynasties, and agitating nations and continents. The Catholic Cantons, almost exclusively under ecclesiastical influences, were restive and ambitious, and eager to spread abroad the genius of their own faith; holding aloft the ark of the Middle Ages, and thundering at those who would not walk backward towards it. It was inevitable that the mingling together of such strange and jarring materials should produce discussions, agitations, and persecutions.

No contentions are so embittered, so lacking in charity, and so wanting in the elements of gentleness and of Christian grace, as those which belong to the domain of Theology and Religion. Ancient and modern history abounds with sad evidence of the deplorable fact. It is due partly to the over emphasis of trivial differences, partly to the fact that the subject-matters in dispute are so dimly lighted by revelation; partly because theologians are so visionary and unpractical and so wanting in sobriety; partly because theological controversies, however interesting, seldom lead to any tangible result. The spirit of religion is a peace-bearing spirit, but religion developed into a philosophy or into a theological doctrine is pugnacious.

Instead of operating upon the higher, it operates upon the lower portions of the disposition, and becomes a disturbing and a dividing force. Practise it, live it, and teach its ideal, it produces an intelligent morality, it encircles the household, the community, and the nation; but sectarianise it, or invest it in Governments, and it becomes exclusive, divisive, and dictatorial. It is as dangerous to put religion in the care of a Government as it is to place it in the care of a Pope or of a Hierarch. A combative conscience is one thing, an arbitrary conscience is another; the one is the nerve of progress, the other is the instrument that creates discontent and revolutions. No nation has yet found unity on sectarian or Church lines. No war has ever been prevented by the spirit of the Churches.

Such were the principles of mutual antagonism that were infixed into the organic structure of Switzerland in the days previous to the adoption of the Helvetian Republic in 1798; principles of attrition, discord, and disintegration. In this acrid bitterness of immaturity the nation had existed for generations: it was like a tenement house filled with quarrelling families. Regeneration was possible only through the spread of intelligence, through systematic culture, freedom of religious discussion and practice, a spirit of common interest, equality of treatment and opportunity, the substitution of individual for class aristocracy, protection from the greed of unjust passions in their fellow-men, toleration, universal education, a definition of the function and limits of state interference, a uniform citizenship, the eligibility of all citizens to all offices, the abolition of torture and the elimination of the antiquated restrictions that had fettered the people and disturbed their peace. This is what the Helvetian Republic of 1798 was destined to accomplish. It had its defects, but it set Switzerland well on to the road of freedom, unity, and prosperity. It obliterated the distinction between ruling burghers and subject peasants, between "Cantons" and "Associates," and established equality and uniformity of citizenship. It introduced common suffrage, liberty of belief, defined the province of the State in matters of religion; it gave freedom of residence and freedom of trade within the Confederation, the right of redemption of

land taxes, and provided for the separation of the "Executive," the "Legislative," and the "Judiciary." Thus it was that the Helvetian Republic, notwithstanding its defects and limitations, began the work of cohesion, unity, and homogeneity. It helped to consolidate the national character by giving the people a sense of security, and making it the interest of each section to remain in unison and to cultivate a more just and generous sympathy between the various classes.

During the first consulship under Bonaparte, divisions of political belief assumed definite party shape, one party bearing the name of the "Unitary," which stood for the unity of the State and equality before the law; the other party calling itself the "Federalist" party, which stood for the old state of things, and drawing its adherents from the ranks of the Catholics in the Forest Cantons. The developments that followed pointed to the formation of a "Federal State," but Napoleon's intervention brought about the enactment of the "Act of Mediation" in 1803, and which thrust the nation back again to the state of things as they existed prior to the establishment of the Helvetian Republic, when Switzerland was made up of a bundle of states loosely held together under the name of a Confederation, but which did not possess the essentials of a free and real state, and which gave neither the "Directory" nor the "Diet" any tangible political power.

The "Act of Mediation," although apparently in accord with the prevailing sentiment of the Swiss people at the time, did not form the basis of a permanent settlement. Bonaparte preserved the principles of equality of all men before the law, a principle which had been established by the Helvetian Republic; he also guaranteed the continued freedom of trade and residence, but he made many important changes. He raised the number of the Cantons from thirteen to nineteen, and the tendency of the act was to weaken central authority; but towards the end of 1813 a reaction set in which had for its object a restoration of the old state of things as they existed before the Helvetian Republic. Even the Great Powers were in favour of the removal of the "Act of Mediation." The ultimate outcome was the establishment of the "Federal Pact," which remained the constitution of Switzerland till 1848.

Like the "Act of Mediation," the "Federal Pact" made further inroads upon the authority of the central power by enlarging the privileges of the various Cantons and increasing the number of alliances. It removed the guarantee of freedom of residence, partly restored the practice of torture, revived the spirit of religious intolerance and increased the activities of the Jesuits, especially in the region of education, and placed the Swiss monasteries under Federal protection, and led to the formation of the Catholic League known as the "Sonderbund"; but it laid the foundations of the Federal army, and gave the "Diet" the power of training, equipment, and organisation. It also created the beginnings of a National Exchequer, and above all had the merit of being the direct product of Swiss statesmen, the "Federal Pact," while the Helvetian Republic was the work of external influence and pressure. The inviolability of the Swiss territory and its independence of foreign control and intervention was guaranteed by the "Act of Neutralisation" of November 20, 1815; though a military occupation was subsequently threatened, more particularly in order to prevent Switzerland from giving protection to political refugees from other lands. From Poland, Germany, Italy, and other parts motley crowds made their way there and found shelter, but the Swiss people, though always sensitive as regards any interference with their own honour and independence, ultimately surrendered this traditional right of affording asylum to foreign refugees.

The formation of the "Federal Pact" did not, in the long run, prove favourable to Switzerland as a whole; its constitution was so cumbersome and its rights so restricted, that it was powerless to accomplish anything very useful, or to protect the economic interest of Switzerland against foreign competitors. It failed to guarantee the right of residence and the equality of all citizens before the law, it lacked an active Federal executive, for many and serious were the confusions as to coinage, postal service, and custom duties. Nevertheless, for the space of fifteen years succeeding its formation the country experienced a time of comparative peace and industrial prosperity. Internecine feuds became less bitter and less numerous, and remedial influences began to manifest them-

selves in Art, in Science, and in works of public utility. Military schools were founded, the methods of instruction were improved; some of the Cantons permitted freedom of residence, and in many more mixed marriages were permitted; democratic ideas continued to gain strength and popularity throughout the land, and there was manifested a growing disposition in favour of a strong central authority in the Confederation.

This internal revival of public spirit received a new impulse from the Paris Revolution of July 1830. It drew the Liberal forces together, strengthened the elements of stability, and brought about the adoption of the apparatus of civil government more in accord with the needs and aspirations of the people. Various amendments and improvements were gradually introduced into the constitution, such as the removal of property qualification for the franchise, the reformation of the Courts of Justice, the establishment of legal equality between the towns and the country districts, the enactments of better laws, the levying of taxes, the reconstruction of the systems of primary and higher education, the establishment of Universities and the curtailment of the power of the "Patricians," who seemed particularly sensitive on the question of "Subject Lands." The movement for a representative democracy made rapid headway and the people succeeded in securing a measure of self-government, determined more by their ideals, disposition, and history, and the general elements of their temperament and mentality, than by the importation of forms, laws, and machinery from the outside. Not that the spirit of discontent had been entirely removed; it was inevitable that such radical constitutional changes should lead to protestations and revolts, and even to a regular civil war, as was the case with the Canton of Basle. In Neuchâtel and Schwyz the parties of reaction proved a source of trouble, and overtures were made for foreign intervention. Liberal and Conservative leagues fought for supremacy with varying successes.

In 1832 it was proposed to amend the "Federal Pact." The idea was to establish a permanent Federal Executive with a fixed centre at Lucerne, instead of the old Federal Executive which migrated from one spot to another.

It also provided for a Federal Court of Justice. While this amended Constitution guaranteed freedom of individual opinion and vote, it preserved essentially the Federal basis of the Swiss Constitution. It was not regarded with favour by the Powers of Eastern Europe, and it was strenuously opposed by the Catholics and the Conservatives of Switzerland. The question of the central executive seemed to be the main difficulty; some concessions had to be made to the Federalists, and ultimately, under the influence of the priests, the proposed amendment of the "Federal Pact" had to be abandoned. This defeat was followed by periods of protracted strife, confusion, and open conflict, assassination, insurrections, and civil wars. The seven Catholic Cantons, which formed about a fifth of the Swiss population, placed themselves in direct opposition to the rest of Switzerland, their aim being to secure religious and political supremacy within the Swiss Confederation, to re-establish the monasteries, to maintain the Jesuitical system, and to defeat all progressive ideas; they claimed the sole right of interpreting the provisions of the "Federal Pact" of 1815, to overthrow Federal authority, and even to enforce their claims by armed rebellion. The "Armed Separate League" was a Catholic league, and was founded upon treason. It claimed for itself the right of sovereignty within the State, a claim prejudicial to Federal authority, destructive of unity, and inimical to the best interests of the Republic. So widespread had this boastful and arrogant affirmation become that it involved the life and death of national independence and prosperity. When the secret decrees and designs of the Catholic "Sonderbund" became known, the conviction grew in intensity, that the first duty of all who placed Fatherland above creed or sect, was to work for the dissolution of the "Sonderbund." Resolutions were proposed, votes were taken in the "Federal Diet," elections were held, and after alternate periods of failure and success, the dissolution of the "Sonderbund" was declared by a majority by the "Federal Diet" which met at Berne, July 20, 1847; and the amendment of the "Federal Pact," which was meditated, proposed, and defeated under the influence of the priesthood at Lucerne on July 7, 1833, was again taken in hand with vigour and decision.

The first step taken was the expulsion of the Jesuits, who had been a menace to the safety and prosperity of the country whenever they were allowed to make their appearance. It was hoped by the Catholics that through the interference of France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia, and even England, they would be able to thwart the movement for reform. There was some justification for this expectation, for the events which were transpiring in Switzerland possessed more than a local interest, and afforded material of anxiety and solicitude to the Cabinets of Europe.

Hierarchs, Popes, and Despots had their hands pretty full during those years. It was a period of great European unrest. The struggle of ideas going on in Switzerland was a part of the mighty upheaval which was proceeding on the Continent. Liberal and National ideas had been making their way with growing strength and intensity throughout the Western world, and had affected every class and every grade of the population. Antiquated political conditions and bureaucratic systems of government were hastening towards dissolution. The discontent which had been seething for years, both among the educated and illiterate sections of the communities, had come to a focus and assumed a collective and definite form. Old ideas were rudely overborne and old political landmarks were unceremoniously cast aside. It is difficult to know whence the great unrest sprang, or to place one's finger on any particular date, situation, or personality. Through tribulation, through blood and violence, the new ideas made their way, and in the process of devolution, of reconstruction, and of adaptation, something was necessarily lost and necessarily gained. Those conflicts were the signs and promises of a latter-day glory—the atmosphere and summer of liberty. They meant the opening up of new channels for the element of free individual reason; it meant added cerebral power to the various nationalities; it meant greater industry, and industry is the father of wealth; it meant more culture and the means of culture in Art, in classic instruction, and in the science of government.

Europe had been in bondage for generations, in bondage on the side of religion, in bondage on the side of industry,

in bondage on the side of politics, and in bondage on the side of conscience. Its malarial influences had affected all classes, and the people were coming to their own. This, the Hierarch and the Monarch saw and felt. The popular movement had in it something apart from passion; it was penetrated with liberty, religion, and intelligence. A new era had dawned upon Europe, an era that ushered in a great organic working towards common moral, intellectual, and political interests. For generations men had been forced to submission by the arrogance of wealth, the arrogance of political power, and the arrogance of privilege. Such arrogance inevitably tended to disaffection and revolution. There was neither stability, nor happiness, nor preservative force in the old state of things, when kings reigned for their own pleasure, and Governments existed for their own selfish interests. A new society was forming itself, and it brought with it new rights and new problems. It gave eyes to the masses of the people; it gave them the power of discussion; it gave them life, and life is the one great necessary quality in national existence. It is the spinal marrow of all progress and reform. This life wandered wide and far and diversely. A new test of manhood had been introduced—the test of intelligence. It fought in opposition to the test of force, of hierarchy, of the authority of an organised class of thinkers, and of rulers. Brain, the father of nerve, had come into his kingdom, and it came not to tyrannise but to equalise, to liberate, and to create a diversity of interest and of power.

Aristocracy, which had been classified, began to be individualised, and instead of being regarded the heritage of classes in perpetuity, it was taught to be an attribute of individual power and excellence. These were among the essential ideals of a new revolution; it deposited a good deal of slime. Ideal democracy does not mean compulsory equality, but equitable opportunity. So long as men differ in intelligence, in force of character, and in application, organised society will always be graded. To force the intellectually weak up to the level of the intellectually strong, and to create a superficial equality, is not democracy; it is not true philosophy. Each man can expect nothing beyond the

liberty of becoming all that the resources of his nature give him the power of being. This was the value and the meaning of the revolution to which the storms of 1848 gave evidence; it afforded a stimulus to true equity, to the distribution of intelligence and of power, to the freedom of religious discussion and practice, to the destruction of infallibility and the claim of superiors to think for their inferiors. Protestantism had already proved that men could not come together on doctrines. The vital point of Roman Catholicism is, thought by proxy. But authority with Rome means non-independence on the part of those who submit to its authority. Three hundred years previously the form of Luther had been seen in Germany, that of Calvin in Geneva, and that of Knox in Scotland, guiding the wave of spiritual awakening that swept across Europe. To define the Protestant faith and to re-organise worship in consistence with new opinions was the work of these reformers—men of supreme force of character, of intense earnestness, and peerless intellects. It is easy for us at this distant hour to emphasise their inconsistencies, their excesses, and even their intolerance, but we cannot expect to find the virtues of the twentieth century in the sixteenth century.

Our modern ideas of freedom and of the limited function of the state were not shared by Calvin or Luther or Knox, nor by any of their contemporaries. Their ideas of the place of coercion in things religious were the ideas of their age, and their mistakes were likewise the mistakes of their age. The martyrdom of Servetus was a stain on the fair name of both Calvin and the cause which he espoused, and it was fitting that on the 350th anniversary of the burning of Servetus an expiatory monument should be erected on the spot where he perished. But Calvin made Geneva the most law-abiding city in Europe, and gave its citizens a prosperity they had never enjoyed before. Calvin did more, he made Geneva the centre of light and freedom for the whole of Europe. Voltaire sneered at Calvin's reforms, but when he had to flee for safety, it was to Calvin's city that he fled. Sons of freedom ejected from other lands found safety in Geneva, and the light of intelligence radiated from it to the whole of Europe, and for centuries it has been a centre of freedom, of learning, and of progress.

The difference between the revival of Calvin in Geneva and Luther in Germany in the sixteenth century, and the continental revolution of the nineteenth century, was more real than apparent. That of Luther and Calvin and Knox was more religious than political, more spiritual than moral; whereas the developments of 1848 were more political than religious, and more moral than spiritual, but in both cases the gain to Switzerland was enormous. Calvin gave Switzerland a new name, a new spirit, and a new government; he raised her citizens from the darkness of mediæval superstition, transformed their country into a centre of evangelical faith and freedom, and made Geneva the Mecca of the leaders of the intellectual and spiritual life of that age. He destroyed the old belief in the authority of the Church and of the Pope, which was built up in the Middle Ages. He produced a new type of character—stern, even narrow and intolerant, but a type that has left indelible impressions on European life, and which has been a strenuous force in the making of freedom and of greatness in other lands. What the Reformation of the sixteenth century did for Geneva religiously, the revolution of 1848 did for Switzerland politically. To that revolution Switzerland owes its transformation into a well-organised state. Calvin's ideal remained a memory and an inspiration, and it was a great Swiss asset in the revolution of 1848. It was because they would not in Calvin's time suffer others to impose their faith upon them that their descendants fought so heroically against foreign interference and for the right to work out their own political, social, and intellectual salvation on their own lines. Was it conceivable that after the lapse of three hundred years, with all the growing light and knowledge which had come down to them on the subject of freedom, that they should commit the fatal blunder of entering the bonds of political servitude with open eyes?

As far back as 1813 Metternich, the great Catholic champion, had voiced the intrigues of the Bernese Patricians and had endeavoured to bring about the abolition of the Act of Mediation; he stood for the right and the duty of the Great Powers to claim a united guardianship over Switzerland. Help

in the form of arms and money came from France, Austria, and Italy for the members of the "Sonderbund" who were struggling to maintain every vestige of their own power and influence. Frederick William IV. of Prussia urged intervention, and he was supported by Russia and other Continental Powers. Prince Frederick Schwarzenberg, an Austrian General, was dispatched to Lucerne to direct hostilities, but he was suddenly recalled, and though the Great Powers were actively working for the supremacy of the "Sonderbund," a combined action on aggressive military lines was difficult of attainment. Louis-Philippe of France was afraid of England and afraid of even France, for public opinion in both countries was fast maturing against the methods and projects of the "Sonderbund." Lord Palmerston, who was then Prime Minister of England, was at heart against armed intervention. He nominally consented by assuming the leadership of the proposed campaign against Switzerland, only that he might be in a position to delay actual operations until it was too late. The move proved successful. The Federal forces took immediate and resolute measures for preserving the integrity of the Confederation, and appointed William Henry Dufour of Geneva Commander-in-Chief of their army, which was composed of 100,000 men and 260 guns. The "Sonderbund" had 79,000 men and 74 guns. The campaign lasted only twenty-five days; it was comparatively bloodless, and ended in the triumph of the Federal forces. The Liberals came back to power, and at once began the work of restoring order. The "Sonderbund" ceased to exist, the independence of Switzerland became an accomplished fact, and she took her place among the independent States of Europe.

In order to prevent the proposed amendment of the "Federal Pact" of 1815 the Great Powers decided, without the support of England, to present an ultimatum to Switzerland, and in case of refusal to adopt coercive measures, but Switzerland stood firm. The same month, that is, the month of February 1848, the Paris revolution broke out and put an end to all foreign intervention; the Constitution of the Swiss Republic was drafted and accepted, April 30, 1848, the year when

England became a Free Trade country. Present-day Switzerland dates from that year. A Federal legislature was formed on the lines of the United States of America, and which was composed of a Senate and a Lower House, the former representing the Cantons, each of which had two members, and the latter composed of members elected in proportion to the population of each Canton. There was a Federal Executive made up of seven members elected for three years by both Houses sitting together; a Federal Court of Justice; it was also provided that the Constitution might be amended by a vote of the majority of the Cantons and of the Swiss people. From 1848 to 1872 the Swiss people devoted their attention to the establishment of a Federal state on democratic lines. A revised Constitution came into force in the year 1874, which continues, with little change, in force at the present time.

In no other part of Europe were the advantages of the Revolution more immediate and more striking. It enabled a small nation, covering an area of 15,976 square miles, and with a population of not more than 3,463,609, to develop the most perfect example of pure democracy to be found in any part of the world. It enabled a race of peasants of German, French, Italian, and Romanish origins, with a variety of languages and a diversity of religious creeds, to preserve unimpaired their unity as a people. It established equality before the law, liberty of the press and public meeting, and liberty of religious belief for all Swiss citizens; it freed them from any fear of interference from without, left their industry to find its own laws and channels, and, as Bunsen wrote in 1854, it placed Switzerland in a state of "unexampled progress and prosperity." In no other country is government so real and yet so unostentatious. There are no classes, or nobility, or hereditary privileges. Even the President's tenure of office lasts only for a year, and his authority is limited; such is the dread of the Swiss people of autocracy of any kind. The "Referendum" and the "Initiative" are a proof of the innate conservatism of the people. The "Referendum" provides that in case a petition is presented by eight of the Cantons, or by

30,000 citizens, against any laws passed by the legislature, that same law must be altered or removed from the Statute-book, according to the will of the people. The "Initiative" provides for the right of 50,000 citizens to demand a direct popular vote upon any constitutional question. The success of these two political methods is a compliment to the self-restraint and educated intelligence of the people. Switzerland has no need of a regular army, for the reason that her independence, neutrality, and the inviolability of her territory were guaranteed by the Act of "Neutralisation" of November 20, 1815, but she has the finest militia in Europe. Each Swiss lad has to put in so many days each year with the colours, and their army is an army in reality as well as in name, and is maintained at a cost of less than £2,000,000 a year. There are 300,000 peasant proprietors, the land being pretty equally divided amongst them. Education is free, compulsory, and universal, although each Canton decides for itself as to the method by which education is to be imparted. Even in the most remote Alpine villages, education is made accessible to the children. The Polytechnic School in Zurich makes it possible for a Swiss to obtain, at home, an education adapted for all the scientific professions.

Of all the smaller nationalities none take a more honourable place than that of Switzerland. A nation nestling in the very centre of Europe and occupying the highest land in Europe, far distant from the sea; a land destitute of coal, and without any raw material to export; its mountains being devoid of iron, silver, and gold; their rocks bearing no oil, and the country possessing no navigable rivers or canals,—yet such is their thrift, their diligence, and their intelligence, that they have become one of the most highly prosperous communities in Europe, and have studded their villages, hamlets, and towns with churches, public schools, and institutions of learning. Strong has been their instinct for commercialism, for when forced out of one industry by foreign competition, they instituted others equally valuable and remunerative. They sent their coloured prints into the markets of China, India, and Japan. Their development of the machine-making industry

arrested the attention of the whole world. Swiss embroidery is bought and worn in other lands. Britain has modelled her new Territorial force upon the Swiss Militia system. Their watch-making trade is the foremost in the world, their engineers have pierced the Alps with tunnels, and their railway constructions are triumphs of the highest engineering skill. Glarus, one of the Cantons in the east of Switzerland, has only a population of 5400, but it was the first State on the Continent to introduce a twelve-hour working day, and in 1872 it reduced the number to eleven. A people, eminently patriotic, yet not blinded by prejudices arising from creed, language, or nationality; surrounded by neighbours and competitors, mighty in wealth, in arms, and in number, they have preserved their independence against the might of Austria, and have circumvented the intrigues of European Cabinets and diplomats; fusing themselves more and more into one people, and sinking both Protestantism and Catholicism in the idea of patriotism, on the ground that Switzerland is greater than any Church, and that freedom is dearer than any sect. Such are Switzerland's domestic virtues, her probity, sobriety, and patriotism; her commercial instincts, high type of citizenship, and keen sense of benevolence; her high motive, and, above all, her restraint in the use of freedom.

"What constitutes a State?
Not high battlements
Or laboured mounds,
Thick wall or moated gate,
Not cities proud with spires
And turrets crowned.
No! Men, high-minded men,
Men who their duties know,
And know their rights,
And knowing, dare maintain;
These constitute a State."

In looking at Switzerland beyond the confines of her own territory, what has been the character and extent of her influence? This is the secret of all poetry, oratory, statesmanship, and of genius in its varied forms, whether in a man or in a nation. How vast may be the sum of that influence it

is impossible truly to estimate, or to define with any exactitude. We cannot measure it to any distinct proportions, any more than we can gather up in computation the value of the light and heat that have been cast out by the solar orb throughout the centuries; but there are certain computable elements in the life, laws, and achievements of a nation that enable us to calculate in a general way the reach of its power and influence. The Swiss people have brought the enginery of thought and of emotion to bear upon the great outside world. They have helped to repress the tyranny of Priests and Hierarchs; they have asserted the rights of weaker nations to develop the spirit of nationality, and have modified the undue aggressiveness of great Imperial powers. They have taken their part in the fashioning of art, in tracing the history of art and of civilisation; they have contributed to the founding of the science of glaciers and the science of chartography; they have added to our knowledge of history and research. Ferdinand Keller, the discoverer of the Lake dwellings, has brought a new light to bear upon the history of primitive man in Europe. Arnold Böcklin of Basle, the great Swiss painter, was a foremost figure in the evolution of the arts in the nineteenth century.

Among the prominent French historians of the nineteenth century was Simonde de Sismondi, and Jakob Burckhardt of Basle ranked among the most eminent historians of art and of civilisation. Among others of Switzerland's sons known to fame were Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, Juste Olivier, and Gottfried Keller of Zurich, the poets; Rodolphe Töpffer, the humorist; Alexandre Vinet, the literary historian; Albert Bitzius, known as Jeremias Gotthelf, the first great realist in German literature. It was Eutychius Kopp of Lucerne that laid the corner-stone of the authentic history of the origins of the Confederation, and proved the story of William Tell to be a myth. In addition to these, there are Jean Daniel Colladon and Auguste Arthur de la Rive, men learned in the science of natural philosophy; Bernard Studer and Escher von der Linth, the geologists; Auguste and Louis Pierre de Candolle, Oswald Heer and Karl Wilhelm Nägeli, the botanists; Ludwig Rütimeyer and Karl Vogt, the zoologists; Jakob Steiner, the

mathematician, and Rudolf Wolf, the astronomer; Ignace Venetz, Louis Agassiz, and Jean de Charpentier, the founders of the science of glaciers; Jakob, Johann, and Daniel Bernoulli, Leonhard Euler, Albrecht von Haller, and Horace Bénédict de Saussure, men who brought the name of Switzerland to the fore in the region of the natural sciences. Not the least conspicuous was Johann Pestalozzi, the great Swiss philanthropist and educational reformer. He devoted his time and substance to the children of paupers, until want of means necessitated his having pupils who paid him. The grand principle he followed was that of drawing out the thinking and feeling powers of a child, instead of making it a passive recipient of facts. His novel, *Lienhardt and Gertrud*, exerted much influence. In telling the story of the regeneration of a village he presents, as it were, an advance scheme of all the economic and moral reforms which have transformed the condition of the rural population of Switzerland in the course of a century's constant progress.

If proof be wanting of the right of the smaller nations to develop their own innate qualities, that proof is forthcoming in the history of the Swiss people in their struggle for freedom, their wide use of freedom when they had obtained it, their invincible conservatism in their manner of imparting education, their military system, the provisions of their constitution, their business aptitude, the character of their legislation, their capacity for self-government, and the sanity of their patriotism. In the troubled history of Switzerland there are many notable names who have added to the wealth of thought, of learning, and of discovery, and their posterity are carrying down with them to this day the same traits that they possessed. They are elevating the whole tone of civic life among the kingdoms of Europe, and are affording an object-lesson in thrift, in law, in habits, in civilisation,—religious and political,—and in unity, to the men and women of every race and clime who repair to the country year by year in search of health and to catch a glimpse of the most romantic and enchanting scenery of its kind to be found in the world.

CHAPTER IV

SCOTLAND

THE sixteenth century was a great century for Scotland, and not only for Scotland, but for Europe and the world,—the most momentous since the birth of Christ. It marks a new epoch in the march of human events—religious, political, and intellectual. It was the century when dynasties were threatened, the rights of hierarchs were questioned, and the individual was discovered. Up to that time, the Pope was the greatest man in all the world, and, to quote the language of the papal legate to Luther: "The Pope's little finger is stronger than all Germany." To be a monk, in those days, was to be free from censure, and even from the jurisdiction of civil law. The ecclesiastical tribunals claimed exclusive control over the clergy—temporally and spiritually. Henry II. sought to place clerical offenders on the same legal footing as other offenders, but Becket violently opposed him, on the ground that it would tend to lessen the privileges of the hierarchy. Bishops, in those days, were much more concerned about the suppression of "heretics" than the correction of clerical abuses and immoralities; they were more anxious to guard their privileges and those of their order than to promote the welfare of the people.

Once upon a time the Church of Rome was the one safeguard of law and order, the terror of evil-doers, and a harbour of refuge for the poor and oppressed; but vast changes had come over the spirit of its dream. It had extended its secular power and dominion beyond all legitimate limits; it actually stood for might against mercy, oppression against liberty, and corruption against apostolic simplicity. True, some of the best sons of the Church foresaw the trend of events, endeavoured

to restore discipline, to bring about projects of general ecclesiastical reform long before the terror inspired by the wholesale defection of nations, under the influence of the Lutheran Reformation. Did not Thomas à Kempis live in an encloistered retreat through all the corrupt period preceding the Reformation, living unspotted of the world? The decrees of the Council of Trent are sufficient evidence that there was a degree of conviction that the time for cleansing had come. But it was a highly puerile effort at reform. The Council of Trent virtually canonised the doctrine that "the cultus of images is simply relative." While declaring that there is no divinity in images, it decreed that they were to be retained and honoured, and that the honour which worshippers paid to such images was honour given to the objects which they represented. Thus it was that images were introduced into the Christian churches, and in the course of time worshipped by the learned and the unlearned, the laity and clergy alike. Worship had been corrupted, so had doctrine, so had life. Such was the ignorance, rapacity, and immorality of bishops and clergy in general, that even the body of the people felt the need for reform. Indulgences were sold in the streets and churches of Germany; money was extorted, and obedience secured, under threats of penalties in this and in the world to come. Benefices were conferred without regard to qualifications, either in age, morals, or learning; several benefices were held by the same person, and when vacant they were claimed by the influential of the realm as a temporal reward, and ultimately transferred by them to a brother or a son. Calvin himself was a curate at the age of twelve, receiving the emoluments while a student in Paris; a few years later another was conferred upon him through the influence of his father. Monastic religion had been defamed and brought into disgrace. Bishops and priests were not free from the guilt of abusing the most solemn sacraments of the Church, and even of dishonouring the women who came to them as penitents for confession and absolution.

It would not be possible in a work of this kind to deal exhaustively with the various problems of the Reformation; neither is it my purpose to discuss the new sources of informa-

tion which the researches of late years have opened up to the student of this great social and religious movement. Obviously, there are grounds for a reconsideration of many of the conclusions, previously formed, in regard to this perplexing period. It is painful to reflect upon the vast amount of ignorance which exists among the present generation of Nonconformists, and even good Churchmen, respecting the age preceding the Reformation, and of the causes which led up to it. There has grown up round the Reformation, as there has grown up round all great religious movements, a mass of legend from which it is difficult to disentangle the truth. One of these legends is, that the high watermark in art, architecture, and literature was the direct result of the Reformation. The truth is, that the light of art and of learning had already dawned upon Europe; great activity was shown in the building and the adorning of churches; music had made great progress in England, so had painting and architecture. In the fifteenth century, learning had found a congenial soil, both in England and in Germany. The paintings and frescoes which adorn the walls of our great cathedrals and parish churches can be traced to that period, and they afford eloquent testimony to the high proficiency, both in execution and design, which the art of painting and engraving had reached, and that under the distinct patronage of the Church itself. Letters, art, architecture, painting, and music were not the distinct products of the Protestant Reformation. Such a claim cannot be substantiated by a dispassionate study of all the facts. Indeed, it can be demonstrated that the English revival of letters found its chief patrons in the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth. The rise of Lutheranism was detrimental both to letters and to solid scholarship; learning, in England and in Germany, declined for well-nigh a century after. The social disturbances and the religious controversies to which the Reformation gave rise did not afford a congenial soil fo learning. The opening up of the schools of the reformed churches of Germany, which was the outcome of the Reformation, cannot be regarded as in any way compensating the immediate injurious effect of the Reformation upon learning in general, and upon the international character of the

university education previously received by both English and Continental scholars of eminence.

But that the sixteenth century witnessed a remarkable awakening of minds, and a considerable broadening of intellectual interest, is both known and acknowledged; the overthrow of the old ecclesiastical system brought with it a mental liberty, and a freedom of spirit, hitherto unknown; there followed a general emancipation from the narrowing and withering effects of mediævalism. Europe was convulsed, and no power seemed strong enough to avert the catastrophe. There can be no doubt that the aim of the Protestant Reformers was the destruction of the whole religious system as it then existed, and an entirely different interpretation of Religion as it was then understood. It is here we have to look for the explanation, in part at any rate, of the religious position of the ecclesiastics and educated laymen of those times. Their undisguised opposition to the Reformation was, in a great measure, due to the fact that they thought, as Erasmus himself certainly thought, that the Lutheran agitation was antagonistic to, and subversive of, true learning. Erasmus expressed the conviction that the Reform movement, or the "New Learning," as the religious teaching of Luther and his followers was characterised, had brought unmerited contumely upon the Humanist movement.

But the tempest had risen, and had brought with it bitter and endless controversies, enmities, and misunderstandings. The movement for Reform, initiated by the best and staunchest sons of the Church, was overwhelmed by the agitation from without. That agitation had for its aim and ideal the changing of the whole basis of the Christian religion, as it was then understood and had been accepted throughout the centuries. Had the bishops, priests, and ministers of the Romish Church led pure lives, and been free from the rapacity, tyranny, avarice, and even debauchery of which they were undoubtedly guilty, the task of the Reformers would have been more difficult than it proved to be. It was one of the main factors in the turning of public opinion. There are times when great developments of human thought proceed rapidly on particular lines, and the Reformation is one of the most conspicuous

examples in history of this community of thought and aspiration: it touched all the strata of society; the new faith swept throughout the whole Continent like a prairie fire.

In Germany there was Luther (1483–1546). To appreciate such a man we have to come close to him, to stand with him, to reckon with the spirit of his age, to estimate the difficulties he had to encounter and the ideals he sought to realise. How amazing his courage! how amazing his industry! There was no one on the side of Rome to match him; in heart-power and brain-power, the Pope was a babe in comparison to Luther. "Never," says Froude, "has mankind thrown out of itself anything so grand, so useful, so beautiful as the Catholic Church once was." It is a true declaration, and one that shows what a gigantic task Luther had undertaken, but the law of retribution works even in the Church of Christ. While the Church of Rome was true to itself, its missions and traditions, it was the noblest institution the world had ever seen. But the days of moral decline had set in, and there is no corruption that is comparable to the corruption of the best; it is the worst, the most insidious, and the saddest of all in its results. It is this that gave Luther his vantage-ground. He was born when Savonarola had entered Florence for the first time, and, like Savonarola, he was impelled with the same consciousness of a call from God, the same consciousness of a burden of responsibility cast upon him by God, and the same hand of destiny weighing heavily upon his soul. In the interval that separated these two giants, Alexander the Pope, at whose instigation Savonarola had been put to death, had been called to give his account to the Judge of all the earth, and Julius II. had taken his place. He was more of a soldier than a pope. After Julius came Leo X., a combination of sensualism and intellectualism, deficient alike in piety and in knowledge of the things that concerned religion. Little did Leo X. think when Luther faced him for the first time, that he was the man that would shake the papal throne as a reed is shaken with the wind; that he would give the German people a new language and new emotions; re-create their literature; translate the Old and New Testament; bring about the collapse of mediævalism; make the Bible the

possession of the people; unify the whole German race; and change, in its effects, the history of Europe. Little did John von Staupitz, the mystic, who presided over the monastery into which Luther entered, think what would be the issue of the advice which he gave Luther to study the Scriptures. It was the first real step in Luther's spiritual career; it cut at the root of the traditional beliefs of the Romish Church, and made the separation inevitable. His first visit to Julius, the Pope, in the autumn of 1510, strengthened the conviction that was fast gaining upon him. The theology of Augustine and the writings of Tauler helped to shape his thinking and to deepen his piety. Yet all the while he was a Roman Catholic, and continued to perform his daily office. But he, along with other kindred spirits, was slowly and surely converging upon the inevitable goal. John Tetzel, the Pope's emissary, was busy in Germany, selling indulgences for the purpose of raising money to complete the great church that Leo the Tenth was building at Rome; for though Leo was a sceptic, and a sensualist, he had imbibed the Renaissance in its love of art. Luther heard of Tetzel on the borders of Saxony. Failing to get a reply to the remonstrance which he addressed to his friend, the Archbishop of Mayence, Luther decided to appeal to the people. It was the first note of the Reformation. At twelve o'clock, on the thirty-first day of October 1517, he nailed his thesis to the door of the church of Wittenberg. Thus was marked one of the great epochs in human history, which affected not only the theological and religious life of Europe, but its social, political, and intellectual life.

In Geneva there was Calvin (1509–1564), Luther's junior by twenty-six years. The latter a typical German, rough in manner, with the courage of a lion; the former a typical Frenchman, less daring it is true, but none the less brave, with less humour, but a more glittering mind. Calvin, more even than Luther, was the intellect of the Reformation, as well as one of its supreme moral forces. He had more to contend with than Luther, for it was in the second stage of the Reformation that Rome really began to wake from her slumbers. The Pope treated Luther with supercilious contempt, but when Calvin entered the movement, he realised its true motive;

fear took the place of derision, and extermination became the watchword of the Vatican. Luther defined the errors of Rome, Calvin had to define the Protestant belief. This brought the movement into the domain of Theology, and of all controversies there is none so bitter as those that relate to doctrine. Calvin had to face dissension from within, and he found the opposition from without more continuous, more embittered, and more brutal; even dogs were set at him in the public streets. He was not without his weakness; he was imperious and intolerant. His support of the death sentence upon Servetus is the one dark blot in his life. His enemies were justified in the strong terms in which they denounced this outrage upon the first martyr of modern science. It is well that posterity should have reversed the judgment of Calvin, by the erection of an expiatory monument on the spot where he perished, on the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death. Calvin's advice to the Protector Somerset in England was, "to punish well by the sword the Catholics and fanatic Gospellers." The apology offered on behalf of Calvin is, "the temper of the time." Men, we are told, were equally ready to inflict or to suffer pains and penalties. Our own Cranmer, we are reminded, who died for his faith, was a pitiless persecutor of Non-conformists. John Knox, in Edward the Sixth's reign, advised the burning of Gardiner and others of the Catholic party. But Calvin's cruelties were in thorough keeping with his character — cold, grim, rigid, and unbending in his insistence upon discipline, as he understood it.

Great also has been the revolt from Calvin's theology since the days when his intellect dominated the Continent. It has been his fate to have his name associated, not with the whole compass of his thought, but with that particular side of his doctrine which the moral consciousness of the world to-day rejects. The average man thinks of Calvin as the author of the doctrines of predestination, election, and a limited Atonement. He quotes that frightful statement of Calvin in the *Institutes*, that not only did God foresee the fall of the first man, and in him the ruin of his posterity, but that He determined it by His own will; and that not

all are created in an equal condition, but some are predestined to eternal life, and some to eternal damnation. No wonder that the name of Calvin, in its theological application, is revolting to the modern mind; but in justice to him it should be said that this particular set of ideas was the product of a long succession of generations. Augustine preached them, so did Gottschalk, the Catholic monk of the ninth century, so did the Dominican doctors, so did Luther in his *De Arbitrio Servo*, so did the Jansenists of Port Royal. Predestination was the doctrine of Rome, even in its grimmest form, as much as of Geneva. The world-view which then prevailed of hell, and of punishment in general, involved consequences which the moral conscience of to-day rigorously rejects. We are a long way ahead of Calvin and his contemporaries in our evolution of the idea of God.

One wonders what would John Knox think of Geneva as it stands to-day? When he saw it under Calvin's rule he wrote: "I neither fear nor shame to say, that this is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was since the days of the Apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any place besides." But on the surface, the Geneva of to-day would hardly show as one of Calvin's successes. His ambition was to make it a theocracy, a "city of God," a new experiment in the communal life. To attain this end Calvin sought to bring to his aid the discipline of the State and the instruction of the Church. Where the Church, by education, admonition, and censure, failed to suppress vice, to inculcate piety, and to insist upon uniformity, the State, he ordained, was to step in and accomplish that end by pains and penalties. This simply meant the substitution of the despotism of Calvinism for the despotism of the Vatican; it did away with individual liberty, and expressed an attitude of the State which, according to modern opinion, is revolting. Calvin's theory represented the sixteenth-century view of the rights of conscience, the place of coercion in matters of faith, and the possibility of producing one cast of theological belief. For some years Geneva presented the very spectacle so vividly described by Knox.

Calvin established his famous Consistory, composed of six ministers and twelve elders, one of the elders being president; meeting every Thursday, and having before it all evil-doers, both rich and poor, learned and ignorant; possessing the power of excommunication, followed by civil penalties, if the culprit proved impenitent; its laws covering the whole public and private life of the citizen; prohibiting, with severe penalties, the teaching of diverging theological doctrines; excluding innocent amusement, and inflicting excessive punishment for trifling offences. Calvin believed that by establishing such a system he was obeying the Divine command, and that his authority was perfectly scriptural. For a time, he made Geneva the centre of light and freedom for the whole of Europe, and into it poured the sons of liberty, ejected from other lands; its theological seminary, over which Calvin himself presided, offered the most thorough training in the evangelical faith which that generation could provide; day after day in its quaint Cathedral the citizens listened to the preaching of the great leader, as Florence had listened aforetime to Savonarola; prosperity was enjoyed by all, and the city was safe as no other city of the time was safe. But the Geneva of to-day is not the Geneva of Calvin's time. Theology is not the preoccupation of its citizens; socially it is the Paris of Switzerland, and is largely a pleasure city.

Passing from Calvin's local influence to that of his general influence, we are confronted with the same singular irony of fate. Calvin was a Frenchman,—one of the greatest of Frenchmen,—but his countrymen have not accepted his doctrine. True, it flourished for a time in his native land. It was the inspiration of Coligny, of Condé, and a host of noble followers; but St. Bartholomew in one century, and the Revocation of the Nantes Edict in another, were the death of the French Reformation. The spirit of Calvin has not conquered France; it was Rabelais that created the atmosphere in which the French have since lived; the humanist mastered the theologian. The dominant note of Paris and of France is not the heavy, austere, and melancholy note of the old Geneva school, but the note of Voltaire, of Diderot, and of Molière.

It is four hundred years since Calvin was born—a fairly long time in which to form a judgment of his work and character. Not only the Geneva of to-day, but the world of to-day, differs vastly from the Geneva and the world he knew. Even in the countries in which Protestantism survives, the Geneva creed, as embodied in those historic Confessions, does not hold the place it once did. But Calvin, with all his mistakes, his erroneous views of the rights of conscience, and the function of the State, has laid the world under a lasting obligation to him. He gave the young European Protestantism a theology, and welded its scattered forces into a system. He imported into England new politics, and a new type of character. He turned out a class of men nobler than the theology which they preached; men, who, when crushed down, rose again; men whom no tyranny could bend, and as Froude has said: "They attracted into their ranks almost every man in Western Europe who hated a lie." Calvinism has since produced some of the finest characters the world has ever known; narrow, dogmatic, and unsympathetic it may be, but characters conspicuous for their reliability. Calvinism has entered into the very fibre and substance of many enduring commonwealths; it framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* a constitution—republic in form—the most wonderful that the brain of man has ever invented. I pick no quarrel with the man who boasts that his mind has been cast in the Calvinistic mould, for even James Russell Lowell, a staunch Unitarian, expressed his pride at the fact that the blood of the Genevan Reformers was in his veins. It is truly more than a coincidence that where Calvinism has prevailed, men have taken on a marked individuality—witness the Dutchman, the Scotsman, the Puritan Englishman, the New England Puritan, the Huguenot, the Scotch-Irish. It is the Calvinist who has been in the vanguard, who has borne the brunt of the struggle, who has done most and suffered most for the common cause of humanity. The pen of the historian traces no pages more eloquent than those in which he tells the story of Calvinism's battles for liberty, and for government by the people and for the people. The liberties of England were achieved by the Puritans, who

were almost to a man Calvinists. Had it not been for the Puritans, political liberty would probably have disappeared from the world.

In Holland there was William the Silent, the hope and pride of the Netherland Reformers—"Father William," as the little children, and aged statesmen, used to call him; a man who consecrated his life and fortune to the service of his country. No patriot, warrior, or statesman was ever inspired by loftier motives. Not Kossuth, not Garibaldi, not even Lincoln, was governed by less personal ambition or manifested greater courage and wisdom than did William of Orange. In council, siege, and battle; in detraction, treachery, and defeat, he was the same—loyal, honest, brave; bearing the load of a people's sorrow; his reason kept alliance with his faith, and whatever departure he made, was made under the sanction of the highest conscience.

In Scotland there was John Knox (1505–1572), Calvin's senior by four years. The great movement which revolutionised the Continent had penetrated the Lowlands. The political revolution which had blighted Wales ended with the death of Llywelyn, 1282; but it was in the sixteenth century that the Principality was formally and administratively united to England, and was, for the first time in its history, permitted to send a few representatives to the House of Commons. But the great Continental Reformation which found congenial soil in Scotland did not touch Wales, with the result that, socially morally, and intellectually, it ranked amongst the most benighted countries in Europe; without wealth, morals, education, or organisation. It was, in this regard, the counterpart of Scotland. As in Wales so in the land north of the Tweed, constant wars with England had depleted and impoverished the country, and for more than a century it had been rent by internal dissension; between the king, nobility, and clergy peace was impossible—each fighting for supremacy. Through the weakening of the central authority, the power of the nobility had been greatly increased, so that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, victory appeared to be on their side. The people were the vassals of the barons, whose land they tilled, battles they fought, and interests they served;

in return for which they were merely clothed and fed, as if they were serfs. They had no recognition of their entity as a people, no freedom of thought and no liberty of investigation. It is difficult to decide which was the worse, whether the servitude of the nobility or the servitude of the king, for both had the same object in view, namely, the suppression of private judgment and the denial of the most elementary rights of citizenship. As they were agreed in their object, so they were agreed in their policy—obedience, recantation, or the stake. These were the alternatives, and they were enforced with vigour and determination. There was, however, one hopeful feature; though the Scotch peasantry, so long depressed by those who held them in subjection, had lost their liberty, they had not lost that spirit of resistance so characteristic of the race.

As the people were the serfs of the king and the nobility, so they were the serfs of their ecclesiastical superiors, sunk in the grossest superstition, and denied all rights of private judgment and public criticism. It is the truth to say that the Reform movement in Scotland was consummated with a maximum of religious feeling. There were social and political considerations, but the dominant impulse was religious. As to the attitude of the nobility in the final stages of the conflict, all that can be said is that they took advantage of it to avenge the wrongs from which they thought they had suffered; they neither inspired nor maintained the movement. The supreme factor was the spiritual factor. There is no evidence that the Latin Church was more corrupt in Scotland than in England or on the Continent, but it was bad enough. We need not confine ourselves to the Protestant historians for information regarding the state of the monasteries; the ignorance and immorality of the clergy; the lack of reverence in public worship; the conferring of benefices upon the illiterate and unfit; the abuse of privileges; the maladministration of bishops, and the whole seamy side of Church life. The testimony of Archibald Hay, a pious and scholarly Scottish priest, who was presented to the Principalship of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, on June 29, 1546, may be ignored, but it cannot be impeached. His *Panegyricus*,

which was printed in Paris, 1540, gives a vivid picture of the unreformed Church of Scotland. The copy in the Advocates' Library seems to be the only one in Edinburgh, though there is a facsimile copy in St. Andrews University Library. It was addressed to David Beaton on his elevation as Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland. Hay says: "I declare, as I desire God's love, that I am ashamed to review the lives of the common and even of certain other priests, observed all round with the darkness of ignorance, so that I often wonder what the bishops were thinking about when they admitted such men to the handling of the Lord's holy body, when they hardly know the order of the alphabet. Priests come to that heavenly table who have not slept off yesterday's debauch; they address themselves to performing the sacrifice who have not tasted learning even with the tip of their lips. I am well aware that the morals of him who sacrifices do not harm the essence of the sacrifice, still it is right that these abuses, which have held sway for so many years to our great disgrace, should be rectified; and perhaps no one ought to devote himself with greater zeal to the accomplishment of that end than you, who are bound to give account to God for so many thousands of souls committed to your trust."

From the statutes of the provincial council of the prelates and clergy of Scotland, which was held in the Church of the Black Friars at Edinburgh on November 27, 1549, we may have some idea of the corruption of morals which prevailed at that time among the Scottish clergy. That council placed it on record that heresies and dissensions were mainly due to the neglect of art and of literature, and to the general lewdness of the clergy and churchmen of all ranks. The statutes provided for the punishment of clerics of all grades, who were the keepers of concubines, who promoted their offspring born of concubinage to positions in their churches, or permitted their daughters to marry barons, or to make their sons barons out of the patrimony of Christ. As a matter of fact, these and other statutes were not enforced, and the reason for it is not far to seek. Out of the seven principal members of that council, Archbishop Hamilton, who presided, and

three of the other bishops, were known to be men of depraved habits. Ninian Winzet, a staunch papist, taunted the bishops with their anxieties to have barons for their posterity. Cardinal Sermoneta denounced the flagrant abuses in the Scottish Church, which had come under his own observation. Archdeacon John Bellenden, a pre-Reformation dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church of Scotland, in speaking of Robert Bellenden, who had been the Abbot of Holyrood for sixteen years, said that he was so envied by the other prelates, because he was not given to lust and insolence after their manner, that he resigned, left the Abbey, and became a monk. Were it necessary, it would certainly be too tedious, to go through all the weird evidence obtainable from Roman Catholic sources of the astounding ignorance of the clergy, and their open defiance of the ordinary canons of honesty and morality. Taking the most charitable view of the lives of the clergy, and the moral condition of the Church in Scotland during the period in question, there is indisputable proof that there was a startling preponderance on the side of evil. The country swarmed with monks, bishops, and priests, who robbed the living and the dead, and who possessed half the wealth of the land. There were rosaries in abundance, but no prayers; the few public services that were held were conducted in a language the people did not understand; many of the clergy were as dissolute, and even more ignorant, than the people whose souls were supposed to be in their charge. It was a hopeful fact that the Scotch peasantry were in their hearts contemptuous of the priesthood, more contemptuous even than the peasantry of other lands. It was a contemptuousness bred of unforgivable insolence, rapacity, robbery, and a licentiousness that had desolated the land and defamed the name of religion and the spirit of religion for so many generations. Silently and surely was this contemptuousness working its way, doing its work of regeneration and preparing the way for the open rupture with Rome.

The Reform movement in Scotland was not the result of the Anglo-Roman rupture, in 1534; neither was it the result of the Scottish break with the Vatican, in 1560. Such a sudden and great change in the thought and religion of a

people is always the outcome of a long period of obscure preparation. For the beginnings of the Reformation, not only in Scotland, but in England, and on the Continent, we must go back to an earlier period. True, it was in the sixteenth century that the resistance to Rome took an open and organised form; but the authority of the Pope and power of the priesthood had been on the decline for generations. The cry for reform had been heard all through the fifteenth century; "heretical" opinions were circulated in England before Luther's revolt in Germany; Henry VIII.'s Latin secretary, writing to his friend, Erasmus, attributes the scarcity and dearness of wood to the holocaust caused by the heretics. "It is certain that the Reformation had virtually broken out in the secret Bible readings of the Cambridge Reformers before either the trumpet-call of Luther, or the exigencies of Henry VIII.'s personal and political position, set men free once more to talk openly against the monks, and to teach a simpler and more spiritual gospel, than the system against which Wycliffe had striven" (*Dictionary of National Biography*). That there were "heretics" in Scotland in the fourteenth century is made clear by the Bull of Pope John XXII. dated at Avignon, June 13, 1329.

Robert Bruce had broken the English yoke, and John, in granting the long-fought-for privilege that the Kings of Scotland should be crowned and anointed, stipulated that the officiating Bishop should, in the name of the Pope, exact an oath from the King that he would do his uttermost to exterminate from his kingdom all those whom the See of Rome denounced as "heretics." The earliest known dated reference to "heretics" in a purely Scottish document is that referring to the Council-General held at Perth, January 27, 1398–9, when David, Duke of Rothesay, was appointed lieutenant to his father, King Robert III. Among other duties, David was supposed to restrain and to punish heretics, who were classed with criminals. After the Council of Perth, and during the fifteenth century, and onward, the references to "heretics" become more frequent and definite, the injunctions against them more stringent, and the penalties severer; such penalties were extended even to those who favoured "heretics" and

received "schismatics" wittingly. At a congregation of the University of St. Andrews, the only one then in the kingdom, which was held in 1416, it was enacted that all who commenced Masters of Arts should swear that they would defend the Church against the revilings of the Lollards, and resist them to the uttermost. In a mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1395, the Pope described the Lollards as—"Not men, but damnable shades of men." Walter Bower, the Abbot of Inchcolm, described them as "the disciples of the great dragon," and he said "that they would descend into hell like lead into the stormy waters."

It is difficult to fix the precise date for the arrival of the Lollards in Scotland, but their presence in the country was felt about the time of the persecution which broke out in England after Wycliffe's death, December 31, 1384. Thirty persons, known as the Lollards of Kyle (Kyle being the central district of Ayrshire), were at the instigation of Archbishop Blackader of Glasgow brought before the King and his Great Council, in 1494, and charged with thirty-four heresies. According to the charges preferred against them, these Lollards held "that relics of saints should not be adored, and that images should not be worshipped." They further held "that Christ ordained no priests to consecrate; that in the Mass after consecration bread remains, and that the natural body of Christ is not there; that every faithful man or woman is a priest; that the Pope is not the successor of Peter, except where Christ said, 'Get behind Me, Satan'; that the Pope deceives the people by his bulls and indulgences; that the Mass profits not the souls in purgatory; that the Pope exalts himself against God and above God; that the Pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory; that the blessings of the bishops are of no value; that priests might marry; that true Christians received Christ's body every day; that sins can be forgiven by God alone; that we should pray to God only, not to the Virgin Mary; that we are no more bound to pray in the kirk than elsewhere; that we are not obliged to believe all that the doctors of the kirk have written; that those who worship the sacrament commit idolatry; that the Pope is the head of the kirk of Antichrist;

that the Pope and his ministers are murderers; that those who are called principals in the Church are thieves and robbers." No wonder that such terrible "heresies" disturbed the Archbishop Blackader, for they showed that the cause of Protestantism had travelled a long way in Scotland. These "heretics" would in all probability have been sent to the stake were it not that King James IV. intervened; several of them being "his great familaris."

In 1525 Parliament, in order to keep Scotland clean from "damnable opinions of heresy," passed an Act prohibiting the importation of Lutheran books and pamphlets by strangers, and the rehearsing of his heresies and opinions, under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods. But neither these, nor any previous or subsequent prohibitions, proved of any avail; even the fires of martyrdom were ineffectual. So deep and so wide was the awakening, that it was impossible to suppress or to confine it. "And now at the Reformation," said Carlyle, "the internal life is kindled, as it were, under the ribs of this outward material death. A cause, the noblest of causes, kindles itself, like a beacon set on high; high as Heaven, yet attainable from Earth; whereby the meanest man becomes not a citizen only, but a member of Christ's visible Church; a veritable Hero, if he prove a true man." "You would be astonished to see how men are changed here," said Lord Burleigh; "there is little of that submission to those above them which there used to be. The poor think and act for themselves. They are growing strong, confident, independent." "I know nothing finer in Scottish history," wrote Froude, "than the way in which the commons of the Lowlands took their places by the side of Knox in the great convulsion which followed. If all others forsook him, they at least would not forsake him while tongue remained to speak, and hand remained to strike."

Ill it would have gone with the Protestants of Scotland at this time were it not for Knox. By his courage, eloquence, and even his intolerance, he was the main compelling force in enabling the people to shake off their lethargy, and to awaken to a sense of their wrongs. Whenever he spoke, it was with the unmistakable accent of authority, which on

great occasions impresses the human heart. When he returned from Geneva he found that the combustible material was present all over the Lowlands of Scotland, needing only a spark to kindle the flame. He found everywhere the sense of the awfulness of sin, the recoil of the peasantry from the conditions that had held them in bondage, and an unconquerable contempt for the priesthood. The temperament of the people he understood perfectly—by nature independent, by instinct freedom-loving. To such a type of character Knox instantly appealed; so did his doctrine. As the people listened to his stern, strong message, they felt that in him they had a leader who had an affinity with them, and they with him; a more emotional man with a softer deliverance, a less austere and definite doctrine, would not have impressed natures so reliant and strenuous, so intensely influenced by their religious belief. The Protestant cause, at that hour, had but few preachers of any kind, and fewer still of the kind that could be ranked as men of influence and eloquence; such preachers Scotland sorely needed. Knox was the man for the occasion, and the occasion was such as to call forth his best and highest qualities. It has been said that he was not a winning personality, but winsomeness is not a Scottish trait, and it would have been valueless. Much also has been said concerning his intolerance. There are times when to be tolerant is to be weak, and when fine distinctions only endanger the cause that has to be protected. The intolerance of Knox was not the intolerance of the bigot, though his zeal, more than once, carried him far beyond the bounds of what was just. His intolerance was the intolerance that springs from a genuine hatred of what was false and unjust. His temperament found an echo in the temperament of the Scottish peasantry, who had been goaded to open resistance by the long misuse which had been made of them by kings, barons, and clergy alike. Knox gave the call to arms, and the response was immediate, vigorous, and general.

The movement had been associated almost entirely in the popular mind with the name of Knox and a few other great personalities; they have been vaguely regarded as having originated the Reformation. It is obvious that to write the

history of the Scottish Reformation, without including Knox, would be like writing *Hamlet* with the Prince of Denmark left out. His heroic character did declare itself, and that very manifestly, in the early days of that great struggle. But there were genuine and enlightened Reformers in Scotland before the days of Knox—many of them scholarly, and all pious men; there were martyrs too—brave, fearless, unwavering in life and in death.

The good work done by Patrick Hamilton (1499–1528) the martyr, who went to the stake (29th February 1527–8), had borne fruit before the papistical power was swept out of Scotland, in 1560, and even before the Anglo-Roman rupture in 1534. The martyrdom took place at St. Andrews; it was there that Paul Craw, Henry Forrest, and George Wishart (died 1546) were put to death. It is also a notable fact that Knox should, in his first sermon, have sounded the keynote of the Scottish Reformation in the same city—the city where he was first called to preach. It is recorded that Knox's deliverance amazed the people; little wonder, for the memory of the cruel manner in which Hamilton was put to death must have stirred his heart. Hamilton was roasted, not burned, to death. Knox tells us that, throughout the whole of Scotland, men began to discuss the martyrdom of Hamilton, and to question both its justice and form.

James Resby, an English presbyter of the Wycliffe school, was burned as a heretic at Perth, in 1407. He was charged with having held and taught that the Pope is not *de facto* the Vicar of Christ, and that no one is Pope, or Christ's Vicar, unless he be holy. Forty other similar charges were preferred against him.

Paul Craw or Crawar, a man versed in sacred literature, a native of Bohemia, the land of the heirs of Wycliffe's teaching, was apprehended in the University of St. Andrews, in the year 1433, and burnt to ashes as a "foreign arch-heretic," at the instigation of Lawrence of Lindares, the noted inquisitor. His tongue was bored through and then fastened to his cheek by an iron pin to prevent him from defending his faith before the people.

John Nisbet of Hardill was hanged in the Grassmarket

of Edinburgh, in 1685, for the Covenant. He was a descendant of Murdoch Nisbet, who joined the Lollards in 1499, and who escaped to the Continent to avoid imprisonment. While abroad he saw the New Testament, and made a copy of it; that copy still exists, and has recently been printed for the Scottish Text Society. Nisbet followed Purvey's revised version of Wycliffe's translation. After his return to Scotland he constructed a secret vault under his house, into which he retired to read and study his Testament.

John Durie, in 1534, was condemned to be shut up between two walls till he died, but was delivered by the Regent Arran, who, writing in February 1542–3, said that the whole clergy had been so accustomed to follow their own lusts that they never exerted themselves to know the Word of God.

Monsieur de la Tour, Poitevin, one of Albany's men-at-arms, was, in 1527, burned in the pork market near Paris by order of the French Parliament. He was committed to the flames for having disseminated the Lutheran doctrine during Albany's visits to Scotland. His martyrdom preceded that of Patrick Hamilton, so that, strictly speaking, Hamilton was not the proto-martyr of the Scottish Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Keillor, a Black Friar, and four other martyrs, were burned on the Castlehill of Edinburgh in the King's presence, March 1538. His offence was that he gave the history of Christ's passion in a play at Stirling on the morning of Good Friday, 1538, in which he compared the bishops and monks to the priests and Pharisees who persuaded the Jews to refuse Christ, and persuaded Pilate to condemn Him to death.

Alexander Alane, a canon of the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews, one of Patrick Hamilton's first converts, was thrown into a foul prison by Patrick Hepburn of Moray, a dissolute bishop who had many bastards by different mothers. Alane managed to escape, and after many wanderings settled, in broken health, at Wittenberg in 1531, changing his name to Alesius.

Henry Forrest, who was in minor orders, and an eye-witness of Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom, was thrown into the

sea-tower of St. Andrews Castle, and afterwards burned, about the year 1533; his crime being that he expressed the belief that Patrick Hamilton's doctrines were true, and that he was a martyr.

George Wishart, a man who had travelled extensively, and who was richly endowed with grace and knowledge, was indicted for heresy, and burned, in 1546. It was while travelling in Germany that he accepted the Reformed doctrine, and when he returned to Scotland he became a vigorous exponent of the same. He fled to England in 1538; but, having gone back to Scotland, Cardinal Beaton had him arrested and prosecuted.

Thomas Forret, another martyr, while canon of Inchcolm was converted by reading one of Augustine's books, and was the means of converting many of the younger canons. While vicar of Dollar he wrote a catechism which did much towards spreading the Reformed doctrine.

Walter Myll was put to death April 28, 1558, at the age of fourscore years. "I will not recant the truth," he said, "for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but I will abide both." Myll's martyrdom was as powerful a factor, if not more than that of any of the Scottish martyrs. In the year of his death the triumph of the Reformed doctrines was assured. On the first of the following January the notice known as "The Beggars' Summonds" was posted on the gates of the Friaries. By the month of May, Scotland was in the throes of the Reformation; so far as the body of the people was concerned, the battle was won.

Other agencies were at work in spreading the faith for which the Scottish martyrs died. Knox had been preceded by other preachers, such as William Harlaw and John Willcock; their preaching was one of the most effective causes of the Reformation. Knox was greatly indebted to Thomas Guylliame, who preached sometimes in Holyrood Abbey, and sometimes in the Church of St. Giles. It was from Guylliame that Knox received his first taste of the truth. Another to whom Knox was indebted, was John Rough, a Black Friar, who for a short time was chaplain to the Regent Arran, 1542–3. It was Rough who called Knox to the ministry.

There is evidence that Scottish scholars had found their way to Oxford during the palmy days of Wycliffe, and had been greatly influenced by his lectures, writings, and sermons. Richard II., in December 1382, forbade the Chancellor and Proctors of Oxford University to molest the Scotch students, notwithstanding their "damnable" adherence to the anti-pope. Wycliffe's influence was felt in Scotland before and after his death. The Scottish Reformers did not take their doctrine from Henry VIII., or his Church, but they were indebted to them for the translation of the Scriptures. William Tyndale's printed translation of the New Testament was in circulation in Scotland in the year 1526. *Written* copies of the New Testament in the vernacular were in the possession of several families in the earlier days of the Scottish Reformation. Among them were the Campbells of Cesnock, 1488–1513.

The press, likewise, especially the vernacular press, played a considerable part in opening the eyes of the people to the enormities of the Romish system. That the press was dreaded by those in authority is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the Regent Arran and Lords of Council ordained, on June 2, 1543, that none should make, write, or print ballads, writings, or slanderous books, under pain of death and confiscation of all their movable goods. Printers who were already in possession of such books, were commanded to destroy them. Some of these books and pamphlets were printed on the Continent, some in Scotland; those that were printed abroad were smuggled into Scotland, and were the means of strengthening the cause of Reform, and of encouraging its adherents.

Another of the influences at work, and which operated in the direction of the Reformation in Scotland, was the Renaissance of learning which had affected the greater part of the continent of Europe. Scottish noblemen fought in the French army and brought back with them to the country north of the Tweed something of the inner refinements of learning. It helped to awaken the Scottish intellect, and to inspire many Scottish youths to leave their own land for the Continent, to imbibe something of the new learning. When they returned they infected other Scottish youths with a like enthusiasm.

Among the forces working for Reform were the ballads, mostly of unknown authorship, which were collected by Wedderburn about the middle of the sixteenth century. *Wedderburn's Songs* was by far the most widely circulated of early Scottish books, and exercised a real influence in helping the work of the Reformation. The poems contained in it are of a very miscellaneous character—devotional, political, humorous, scurrilous; but almost all of them are full of life and vigour. The most excellent of them, and the one that affords the most typical example of the popular satirical poetry of that period, is the ballad quoted by Sir Walter Scott in the *Abbot*:—

"The Paip, that pagan full of pryde,
He hes us blindit lang;
For where the blind the blind does guide,
Na wonder they gae wrang.
Like prince and king he led the ring
Of all iniquitie.
Hay trix, tryme-go-trix,
Under the greenwood tree.

. . . . . .

The blind Bishop he could not preach
For playing with the lassis;
The silly Friar behuffit to fleech
For almous that he assis.
The Curat his creid he could not reid—
Shame fall the cumpanie!
Hay trix, tryme-go-trix,
Under the greenwood tree."

There were not many educated men in Scotland in those days, yet literary influences had made themselves felt in Scotland as they had already done in the more advanced countries of the Continent, from the days when the first Scottish printing-press was set up in 1507. The Reformation period was not barren of literature—religious and theological; true, it was the literature of a small class of educated and thoughtful men, and when critically considered it had probably comparatively little influence in moulding the mind of the people in the direction of the Reformation. Far more importance attaches to certain writings of a popular character, which dealt not so much with the religious side of the controversy

as with the more obvious failings of the Church and its clergy. Much of this popular literature was the work of Roman Catholic writers, who had evidently no idea of the mischief they were preparing. They are represented in some grave histories as Protestants in disguise, or earnest spirits who were bent on purifying the Church. But they seem to have written —much as Burns did in a later time—out of an impulse of boisterous fun. The solemn humbug of the abuses that went on in the name of religion offered them an easy butt for their ridicule, and by laughing at the weaknesses of the Church they did far more than they intended. They broke down the popular reverence for the priesthood and the old religious customs. They undermined the prestige which might otherwise have enabled Rome to resist the new movement. When the Reformers entered on their task, they found it made easy for them by the jesters and satirists who had degraded the Church in the eyes of the people.

Among the most popular writers of that period may be mentioned Sir David Lyndsay (1490–1555), the famous Scotch poet, born in 1490; author of the *Satyre of the Three Estates*, *Answer to the King's Flyting*, and *The Monarchie*. His humour was coarse, but it suited the age, and served to increase his popularity as a satirist. His purpose seemed to be to bring the Church and clergy into contempt, rather than to educate his countrymen; in that sense he was certainly successful, and did as much as any pre-Reformation man to shake the faith of the people in the Romish Church and to overthrow the power of the clergy. In *Rom's History*, Wodrow Society, pp. 7–9, it is related of a Perth craftsman, who had one of Lyndsay's books, that he taught it to his children, and they in turn to their school companions. When a friar began to speak of some miracles and to denounce the Protestant preachers, the scholars of the grammar school hissed so vigorously that he left the pulpit in fear. The master of the school, Andrew Simson, then a zealous Papist, would have punished the boy who had the book as the cause of the disturbance, had not the offender asked him to read the book before inflicting chastisement. Simson read the book, was convinced that everything in it was true, and

he became an eminent minister of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

It was part of the Romish creed that it was better to believe too much than too little, and there was certainly no lack of credulity in Scotland during those days. The land abounded in lying legends, miraculous stories, endless hosts of saints, images of saints, and altars to their memory. Even the Lord's Prayer was addressed to saints and their images, not merely by the laity, but by clergy also. Sir David Lyndsay describes some of these images, such as St. Eloy with a new horseshoe in his hand, St. Anthony with a sow, St. Bride with a cow; he says that he might add a thousand more. It was part of Lyndsay's mission to kill the credulous spirit of the Scot, for the reason that it invariably degenerated into idolatry. To him as much as, if not more than, any other writer is due the credit of turning public opinion against the invocations of saints and the veneration of images. His efforts were also directed against the mixed pilgrimages which led to such gross vice, and the compulsory exaction of the corpse-present. He alleged that there were many cases when the clergy actually detained the corpse at the kirk-stile until they received sufficient surety that the mortuary dues would be paid. There is also Dunbar, a contemporary of Lyndsay, and a poet of much greater genius. He was born in 1463, and was a great factor in helping on the work of the Reformation.

Scotland, according to Boniface, in 1300 belonged to the Holy See, in virtue of the fact that it had been miraculously converted to the Christian faith by the relics of St. Andrew, and which were preserved in the Cathedral of St. Andrews. Rome did most assuredly act up to the claim of Boniface, for she robbed the rich and poor alike, the living and the dead. The country had become the exploiting-ground for priests and prelates, and heresy-hunters of every description. What was once a freewill offering was made compulsory, and men and women were debarred from using the sacraments, for the non-fulfilment of what was sinfully described as their dues. Lyndsay devoted his satirical genius to exposing and denouncing such iniquitous extortions. It

is not too much to say that the Reformation was greatly expedited through the satires, books, ballads, and plays of Sir David Lyndsay and others of his class.

A further contributory factor to the success of the Reformation was the political situation. For more than a century Scotland had been rent asunder by internal dissensions—partly social, partly political. The chief figures in the drama were the nobility, the King, and the clergy; each fighting for its own interests. On the death of James the Fourth in 1513, and during the minority of his son, the control of the State passed entirely into the hands of the nobility. They held the King a prisoner, and the clergy were powerless to act. In 1528 Cardinal Beaton (1494–1546) organised a conspiracy having for its object the release of the King and the subjugation of the nobles. The conspiracy was successful, and the King took refuge in Stirling Castle. The result was that power once more passed into the hands of the clergy. The nobility, embittered by disappointment, driven to desperation by persecution, and disgusted with the prevaricating attitude of the King, accepted the Protestant principles as the only door of hope open to them for revenging upon the Church which had harassed and deprived them of their privileges.

England broke with Rome twenty-six years before Scotland, the Anglo-Roman rupture taking place in 1534, while Scotland remained subject to the jurisdiction of the Pope and the Church till the year 1560. Not that the Scots had been meekly submissive to Rome at all times. The memory of advantages that had been derived in previous generations through the Church, and the awe with which the body of the people had been taught, and encouraged, to regard her laws and institutions, and especially her *doctrine*, undoubtedly served to delay the Scottish break with Rome. There had been, however, frequent friction regarding the conferring of benefices and the constant encroachments of the Pope on the rights and privileges of the Scottish Crown. It was seriously proposed in Scotland as far back as 1514, a year after the battle of Flodden, to openly break with Rome in matters civil and ecclesiastic. Louis XII. of France did what he could to preserve the connection. Henry VIII. was a

devoted confederate of the Pope, and their schemes and interdicts against Scotland did not tend to pacify the aggrieved feelings of the Scots. Both James I. and William the Lion had asserted their independence, and their relation with the Pope was so strained that a permanent rupture seemed inevitable on more than one occasion. Neither Julius nor Leo X. found James IV. too pliable, and it is certain that had he not fallen at Flodden the irreparable breach with Rome would have taken place forty years earlier than it did. James died excommunicated. The efforts of Francis I., King of France, had also been directed towards the maintenance of peace between the Pope and the Scots; and Balthasar Stuart, a man of considerable influence in Scotland, and who, according to Thomas Spinelly, the English resident at the Court of the Archduchess in Flanders, was "a subtle and quick fellow who can full well say one thing and think another," used his influence to prevent the breach with Rome; he certainly was a means of prolonging the relation between Scotland and the Vatican. But the trend of events was in the direction of separation; the masses of the people had come to feel that they were being plundered to support wicked and avaricious men, and that the Church, which once stood for culture and civilisation, had prostituted its function, and had forfeited all moral right to their continued allegiance. In the summer of 1547, Knox, who had gathered unto himself the hopes and aspirations of his people, brought them to a focus, and clearly laid down in his sermon in the city of St. Andrews the lines along which the Reformation was to be carried out in Scotland. The thoroughness with which it was carried out may be gathered from the articles which were drawn from his discourse. If the open rupture with Rome was longer delayed in Scotland than in England, it struck deeper at the roots of Papistry; it was bold, thorough, and complete.

Hardly had Knox triumphed over Romanism when a new enemy appeared on the scene in the shape of Episcopacy. Once for all Knox had disposed of the Pope's divine right to dominate the religion of Scotland. It was left to his successors, Andrew Melville (1545–1622) and the Covenanters, to

combat another phase of the divine right theory in the claim of King James to dominate ecclesiasticism in Scotland. King James's watchword, "No Bishop, no King," brought disaster to the house of Stuart, and threw the Church into a turmoil which was only ended by the Revolution Settlement, when the Church of Scotland was placed upon a secure foundation, that is secure from the wiles of Episcopacy, though not from all danger. Soon after the Revolution Settlement the troubles of the Church entered on a new phase on the question of patronage. The Revolution Settlement provided for the people electing their own ministers, but the Union was barely five years old when an Act was passed reviving Patronage, an Act from which, in the words of Macaulay, flowed every secession and schism that has taken place in the Church of Scotland.

Patronage led to what are known as the Secessions and the Disruption, in which the heroic side of Scottish religious life again shone with undimmed lustre. In the battle against what may be termed Erastianism in a subtle form, Scotsmen love to recall the memories of the Erskines, Chalmers, Cunningham, Candlish, Guthrie, Rainy, and a host of brave warriors in the battle for spiritual independence. Patronage was ultimately abolished, but too late to bring about a reunion of Presbyterianism. Instead, there resulted a union between the Free Church of the 1843 Disruption and the Secession Churches of earlier date. Out of this grew another stormy period in Scotland's ecclesiastical history. A small minority in the Disruption Church claimed the property, on the ground that in uniting with the Secessionists it had departed from what was called a fundamental principle, namely, the principles of an established Church. The case in the Scottish Courts was decided against the minority, but the judgment was reversed on appeal to the House of Lords. So glaring was the gulf between technical legality and equity that, owing to the pressure of public opinion in Scotland, Parliament was compelled to appoint an Executive Commission with power to make a division of the property and funds, so as to secure their apportionment to religious

purposes. The minority got what they were thought capable of utilising.

The union here mentioned had one notable result—it led to a desire for a larger union, the reunion of Presbyterianism, upon which leading ministers and laymen are earnestly engaged. There are grave obstacles in the way, but no one can doubt the existence of a strong desire to heal the breaches which time and its problems have made in the Church of Knox.

Theologically, Scotland is in a transition state. In addition to the ecclesiastical grievances which led to the Secessions and the Disruption, was grave disapproval of the preaching of large numbers of the established clergy, who as moderates were more deistic than evangelical. The Church of 1843, the Church of Chalmers, was specially distinguished for adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation, notably in regard to the infallibility of the Bible. About forty years after the Disruption there appeared what is known as the Robertson-Smith case, when the Higher Criticism was imported into Scotland from Germany. Since then Scotland, theologically, no longer stands where she did; and there are those who contend that the uncertain doctrinal basis of Scottish preaching has much to do with the declining influence of the Scottish pulpit.

That the Reformation was destined to be a means to an end, and not an end in itself, is made manifest by the subsequent history of Scotland. It was a prelude to, and a preparation for, the scientific development of the Scottish intellect. It would be unjust to blame the Scottish people for the non-cultivation of science during that period, for the whole mentality of the nation was absorbed in the conflict with Rome. It is true that the Covenanters did not regard science, as such, with any degree of favour. In one sense this is not to be wondered at; it was a time of great unsettlement throughout the land; spiritual independence was unknown, and there was no time for scientific research. Without spiritual independence intellectual independence is impossible; and without intellectual independence scientific development is also impossible. The

men of religion were engaged in a fierce struggle for freedom of conscience and liberty of speech; they paved the way for the men of letters.

It is, however, a remarkable fact that in the distracted sixteenth century, in the midst of social, political, and religious turmoil, there should have sprung up a man who has left his mark upon the science of mathematics—namely, Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms. As has been well said: "Whether we consider the great originality of the idea, the difficulty of carrying it into effect in the state in which algebraic analysis then was, or the immense practical and theoretical value of the invention, we shall have little difficulty in claiming for Napier the honour of a discovery unsurpassed in brilliancy in the whole history of mathematics." The subsequent history of Scotland proves the immense aptitude of the Scottish intellect for the scientific side of life.

In estimating the results of the Scottish Reformation, and its effects upon the fortunes of the people, we must take into consideration the zeal for education which it created; a zeal which has been honourably maintained throughout the generations. Education in Scotland deserves to be written large, for, in some respects, it supplies a model that none can afford to overlook, and a history that Scotsmen may study with pride. "Let it be granted," writes Dr. John Kerr, in his review of *Scottish Education from the Earliest Times to 1908*, "that Town Councils and the Church, in their pursuit of what was best for education, fell into mistakes which later experience enables us to avoid; there still remains the outstanding fact that the country, small, poor, and shamelessly robbed of an inheritance which belonged to education, kept steadily in view, and pursued with unslackened rein, its aim for intellectual culture and advancement. For more than three hundred years, in practically continuous record, there is scarcely a burgh or important town in which provision was not made for the teaching of Latin and Greek to all, rich and poor alike, who were able to turn them to profitable use. One is warranted in saying that no other country has such a record."

It has been asserted by Buckle and the anti-ecclesiastical school of critics, that the Reformation was an obstruction in the sphere of learning and of letters. For proof of this they refer us to the attitude of the Reformers. True, they did not take kindly to the Humanist cult. In their revolt from the doctrinal side of Romanism, the Humanists, in most cases, revolted also from the ethical side of the supernatural theory of life. This led to a laxity of morals; the poetry of that school, and of that period, was used to burn incense on the altar of a degrading naturalism. The Reformers could not expect any assistance from a poetry that glorified the sensual, and reflected no higher ideal than the semi-paganism of Italian authors. Such poetry did not contain any of the elements of a well-ordered social state. Furthermore, was not Melville one of the Reformers? What about his earnest efforts for the higher education of Scotland? Who petitioned the Queen and Lords, in 1563, for a reform of the University on the lines of the newest learning of their time? It was the Reformers. That the petition failed was due to the opposition of the nobility.

There is another aspect to this question. This literary critical school invites our attention to the striking contrast between the imaginative literature of Scotland during the pre-Reformation period, and that of the period immediately succeeding the Reformation. But the classic poetry of the days of James IV. was not ended by the Reformation. It had in it the seeds of internal decay; notwithstanding its close connection with the Renaissance it busied itself with the fantastic allegories of a dying civilisation. It had no living relation with the growing forces that were about to bring Scotland within the zone of the great industrial epoch. It was feudalistic, and feudalism was perishing. It was classic, but not patriotic, and its inspiration was personal. Brilliant as was the poetry of the pre-Reformation period, it breathed the atmosphere of a dying world. Outside that world there was in progress the reaction of the thinking men of Scotland against the doctrine and practices of the Romish Church, a reaction that was bound to result in the overthrow of that system, and the traditions which it

represented. Such poetry could not keep pace with the imaginative literature of England. The latter contained the elements of durability, and developed steadily until it culminated in the great Elizabethan drama. "How is it," we are asked, "that the literary impulse of the Reformation was not sustained?" They who ask would have us believe that the sudden decline was due to the intolerant fanaticism of the Reformers—the blight of ecclesiasticism. Not so. It was the contest with the Episcopacy that interrupted the development. Scotland had her hands full. The long period of ecclesiastical and political turmoil, of social disorder and national instability, was not favourable to the cultivation of the Muse. Following the Reformation came the long struggle for the right to think; without such right no enduring literature was possible. When social order was restored, and with the opening of the eighteenth century, Scottish literature took a new lease of life. The bent of the new literature was towards the natural; it was in substance a reaction from the austerity and exclusiveness of the Covenanting section of Scottish Protestantism. Culture was substituted for regeneration; instead of the ideals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Humanism of Continental thinkers gave colour and inspiration to the literary activities of the eighteenth century. The new form of thought was reflected in theological literature; philosophy, too, felt the force of the new movement, for it practically repudiated the Covenanting creed. Philosophy sought to find the stimulus for a cultured humanity in human nature; theology it ignored and even rejected. As with philosophy, so with history and poetry; a distinct feeling for nature permeated the whole of Scottish literature.

What therefore did the Reformation do for Scotland? It gave her unity of belief, unity of feeling and unity of sentiment; in brief, it made Scotland a nation. It rescued the people from a dual despotism, the despotism of feudalism as represented by the nobility, and the despotism of the Church as represented by the Pope. It gave the Scottish intellect its scientific bent, and sowed the seeds of that literary

brilliancy which added to the lustre of Scotland in the eighteenth century. It gave Scotland a national Church; national, because it was the product of the genius of the people; national, because it rested on the will of the people; national, because governed by the people, for the good of the people. No other Protestant Church in the world has identified itself more thoroughly with the needs and aspirations of the populace. Time has advanced since then; three hundred and fifty years have passed away since the Assembly of the Church and of the Parliament of the realm, in 1560, met to ratify the old enactments in favour of the new religion, and to acknowledge those who professed it to be the true Kirk of Scotland. But what progress has been made! What facts have accumulated! True, in the age succeeding that of Knox the light of liberty grew dim on the national horizon, and the sacred flame of religion flickered on the altar; but what the nobility and the Crown had placed in peril, the Scottish clergy rescued and preserved. By their teaching, example, and religious Assemblies, they fed the dying spark of Scottish religion and Scottish nationality. Ever since, the Scottish clergy have been among the dominant factors in the nation's life. By their wonderful spiritual eloquence, they have not only electrified the souls of their countrymen, but have given the great English-speaking world the benefit of their learning and refinement.

Moreover, in computing the results of the Scottish Reformation, we have to take into account, not only the impulse it gave to the spirit of freedom, religion, and education, but the stamp of progressiveness which it gave to the Scottish Universities. It is true that when, in 1639, the Covenanters were in the ascendant, they resolved that all masters and teachers of colleges and schools should subscribe to the Covenant. Direct and successful efforts were made to fill University chairs, and especially the chairs of Divinity, with men who were favourable to the Reformed doctrines. Subscription to the Confession of Faith was made a condition of holding office in the Universities. It was a mistaken policy, and did much to increase the unpopularity of the Church among thinking Scotsmen. It also retarded the progress of

the scientific movement which followed in the wake of the Reformation. Nevertheless, the Scottish Universities were more favourable to the cultivation of science than the English Universities of that period. Not that the progress of science in Scotland was wholly dependent on the Scottish Universities. Indeed, there are in the annals of Scotland men who never saw the inside of a Scottish University, and who could not in any sense be said to be technically educated, but who rendered conspicuous service to the scientific movement.

There is James Ferguson (1710–1776), the self-taught astronomer. Long before Kant, Laplace, or Herschel advanced the nebular hypothesis, Ferguson propounded a similar theory. He did much towards the exposition of the Newtonian system. He was also interested in dynamics and hydrostatics. But while the Scottish clergy, by their exclusiveness, laid themselves under the imputation that the whole weight of their influence was on the side of obscurantism, yet it is historically true that the Scottish Universities bore the impress of the enfranchising spirit which characterised the Reformation. "The Universities of Scotland," says Dr. Merz in his book on European thought in the nineteenth century, "unlike those of England, instead of nursing an exclusive spirit and encouraging only scanty intercourse between teachers and students of different centres, lived in constant exchange of professors and ideas, much in the same way as has always been the custom, on a larger scale, among German and other Continental Universities. Though this is destructive of that individual character of the University or the College which is so highly prized by many English Fellows, it is certainly more conducive to the progress of studies and research, and it is the cause why, in the early history of recent science, the Universities of Scotland have played so much more important a part than those of England." Dr. Merz further says: "Whilst in England modern science was cultivated outside the pale of the Universities by Priestley, Davy, Wollaston, Young, Dalton, Faraday, and Joule,—to whom we may even add Green and Boole,—all eminent Scottish men of science, such as Gregory, Simson, Maclaurin, Playfair, Black, Thomson, Leslie, Brewster, and Forbes, were University professors, many of whom did

not confine their labours to one centre, but spread the light of their ideas and researches all over the country. While England has been great in single names, Scotland has certainly in proportion done more to diffuse modern scientific knowledge."

So much for the relative place of the Universities of Scotland in the development of the scientific spirit. No student of Scottish life can fail to notice the close, and even inseparable, connection between the Reformation and the educational movement in all its branches. In short, the Reformation renovated and re-created the whole life of Scotland — its morals, learning, literature, philosophy, nationalism, and educational ideas. When we speak of those who have wrought most nobly in the field of human life, whether British or European, it is impossible to exclude Scotland—a land of intellectual riches, with infinite literary enthusiasm and aptitude.

Among Scottish writers who influenced English fiction may be mentioned Tobias Smollett (1721–1771). He wrote the *Adventures of Roderick Random*, which brought him fame and fortune. He penned the well-known ode, *The Tears of Scotland*, which was inspired by the Duke of Cumberland's barbarities. Among his other works were his *Compendium of Voyages and Travels*, which gave an account of the unfortunate expedition to Carthagena under Admiral Vernon in 1741; the *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, also *Advice—a Satire*, and a new translation of *Don Quixote*, in 1755. In 1757 he produced a successful comedy called *The Reprisal*, which was followed by his *History of England from Julius Cæsar to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 1759. While in prison for libel he wrote his *Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, and in 1761–1762–1765, appeared his *Continuation of the History of England down to 1745*. In 1766 he published his *Travels through France and Italy*, and in 1767 his *History and Adventures of an Atom*. But the best and most widely known of his works is *Humphry Clinker*.

Sir George Mackenzie (1636–1691), friend and correspondent of Dryden, founder of the Advocates' Library, and

ex-officio prosecutor of the Covenanters, who flourished in the seventeenth century, was the writer of the first novel in Scotland. He was a scholar as well as a politician, and a writer on many themes in which morals, religion, history, and jurisprudence all figured. He was held in veneration by the learned of the University of Oxford, and stood high in the esteem of Dundee, Dryden, and Evelyn. Mr. Andrew Lang has been attracted by his services to law and literature, and has sought to do justice to his memory, which has suffered much from the bitterness of party rancour and uncharitable misrepresentations. He is buried in Greyfriars Churchyard, —where the Covenant was signed on the flat tombstones,— and in old days little boys used to prove their daring by calling out at the door of his mausoleum, "Bluidy Mackinzie, come oot if ye daur! lift the sneck and draw the bar."

Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) was the first to give the novel a literary predominance, the kind of predominance which at one time was peculiar to the drama. For an illustration of prose romance as a vehicle for the portrayal of character, we must go to Scott. He adapted the old ballad form of narrative, and directed the minds of men back to the gorgeous aspect of the Middle Ages. His works mark an epoch in the evolution of our standard of propriety in literary taste and morality. The public, prior to his time, had accepted the candour of Fielding and the coarseness of Smollett, whereas the public brought up on his novels became exceedingly prim and particular. His example had no doubt much to do with the change in public sentiment. The religious revival of the period was probably a more potent influence, and it was largely as a result of that revival that English and French literary tastes diverged. There were, in fact, simultaneous religious revivals in the two countries, but they were of a very different character. The Catholic revival inaugurated in France by Chateaubriand was ornate and sensuous. It was not regarded as involving any obligations to austerity. The Evangelical revival preached on this side of the Channel by such religious leaders as Simeon and Legh Richmond was largely a recrudescence of the Puritanism of Cromwellian times. It left its mark not only on our churches, but also

on our circulating libraries; and much the same may be said of the Tractarian Movement which succeeded it. It was only in the matter of ritual that its influence was sensuous. In other respects it made for asceticism, and its ascetic influence on literary taste is exemplified in the writings of Miss Charlotte Yonge.

"It is not for nothing that the very central and supreme object in the architecture of present Edinburgh is the monument to Sir Walter Scott," writes the author of *Edinburgh Sketches and Memories*; "the finest monument, I think, that has yet been raised anywhere on the earth to the memory of a man of letters." Sir Walter Scott was, undoubtedly, a man of letters—the foremost man of letters of the first part of the nineteenth century. His influence was, and is, European. He has often been compared to Shakespeare, but he may even better be compared to Napoleon, for as Napoleon found France shattered and in chaos, and lifted her to the pinnacle of power, so Scott came at an epoch of decadence in Scotland's history and raised her again to her place among the nations. What he did for Scotland was accomplished not by over two hundred battles, but by twenty-nine novels. In 1805 the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* won him fame as a poet; and in 1808 he published *Marmion*, followed by *The Lady of the Lake*, in 1810, and his other poems, *The Vision of Don Roderick*, *Rokeby*, and *The Lord of the Isles*. The appearance of *Waverley*, in 1814, formed an epoch in modern literature. *Guy Mannering*, *The Antiquary*, *Old Mortality*, *Rob Roy*, *The Heart of Midlothian*, *Ivanhoe*, and others together form the series known as the Waverley Novels. They were published anonymously, and Scott remained the great unknown until 1827. He died five years after. He could have no successor, for he exhausted the past. With him ended the period of Romanticism, and instead we have the rise of the domestic novel, which, as in the case of Susan Ferrier, gave scope for character-sketching and satirical treatment of middle-class life. She was a writer of marvellous power. Mrs. Oliphant, who published an immense number of books dealing with history, biography, and fiction, followed much the same line, though different in spirit and method. Then we have the realistic novels of

Galt, who deals with the grimly tragic side of common life. In the *Annals of the Parish* we have a vivid and a real picture of Scotland in the transition period, which heralded the beginning of the new industrial period. Galt, like Scott, had no real successor. The school which he created was not perpetuated, though everything at the time seemed favourable to its continuance. Scottish novelists evidently preferred to deal with certain select classes of the community.

With the appearance of Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894) it seemed as if Scottish literature was to strike a more distinctive note. As to his genius there can be no doubt, but he lacked the great ideals, and the deep emotions, necessary in a genius of the first water. His introspection was abnormal. He was original, and had profound insight into the Scottish character; he had a large vein of romance, but his romanticism was neither heroic nor historic. The romance in which he excelled was of the weird, terrible, and supernatural. He did not write contemporary novels, keeping off the usual path. He did not cater for ephemeral fame, and to him, as to all true artists, public opinion was eternally uninteresting, though his name is known throughout the English-speaking world. His writings include *An Inland Voyage*, *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes*, *New Arabian Nights*, *Treasure Island*, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, *Kidnapped*, etc. He died in Samoa in 1894.

What educated man is there who has not profited by the beauty and the sublime thoughts of Dr. George MacDonald (1824–1905), the author of *Alec Forbes*, *David Elginbrod*, *Marquis of Lossie*, and *Mary Marston*? The high tone and elevated principles which form the basis and the goal of his works have helped us in the turmoil, the thinking, and the wonderment of our lives. His influence was limited for the reason that his aims were limited. He was the novelist of the reaction against Calvinism.

Scotland's catalogue of novelists would not be complete without reference to the Rev. John Watson (1850–1907), known to literature by his *nom de plume* of "Ian Maclaren"; he was the author of *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*, *The Days of Auld Lang Syne*, etc., which had a very wide circulation. At

least eighty thousand copies of the former, and sixty thousand of the latter, were sold within three years after publication.

Of the poets of Scotland, Gavin Douglas (1474–1522) deserves a place of honour. He was one of the most eminent of the early Scottish poets; he was a scholar of St. Andrews from 1489 to 1491. He studied in Paris and became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1516. In 1501 James IV. made him Provost of St. Giles, and this when he was but twenty-six. During that time he wrote the *Palace of Honour* and *King Hart*, and turned Virgil's *Æneid* into the vernacular. He wrote a translation of Ovid's *Remedy of Love* before he was twenty-five years of age. In 1513 he put into Scottish verse the *Æneid*, which is believed to be the earliest translation of any ancient classic into any British tongue. There is some ground for the supposition that his *Palace of Honour* fell into the hands of John Bunyan, either in Bedford Jail or elsewhere, and suggested to him that immortal allegory, *Pilgrim's Progress*. However, there is a marked resemblance in the structure of the two works. Each of them is the narrative of a dream; in each the hero, conducted by spiritual beings, is journeying through many difficulties towards a better land. In each the journey ends in a place of celestial happiness; and in each there is a spot of eternal and overheated discomfort, luckily avoided on the road. He died in London of the plague, in 1522.

George Buchanan (1506–1582), the famous Reformer, historian, and poet, was the best Latin scholar of his time. He was a friend of Joseph Scaliger, the celebrated litterateur. Among his pupils were Montaigne, Mary Stuart, and James VI. and I.

Robert Aytoun (1570–1638) was Court poet to James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, and was considered by Charles I. to be worthy of a resting-place in Westminster Abbey. Robert Burns paraphrased his *Inconstancy Reproved*, in the dialect of his (Burns's) own time. Burns claimed that he improved the simplicity of Aytoun's sentiment by giving the words in a Scots dress. Burns discredited the idea that Aytoun was the author of *Auld Lang Syne*, although it has been asserted that he it was who first asked the tuneful and

touching question, "Should auld acquaintance be forgot?" Dryden had great admiration for Aytoun's verse, and he was held in high esteem by Ben Jonson.

William Edmonstoune Aytoun (1813–1865), author of the *Lays of the Cavaliers*, was a direct descendant of Robert Aytoun. While occupying the chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in the University of Edinburgh, to which he was appointed in 1845, he greatly increased the number of students in that branch of study in the course of some eighteen years. He edited *Blackwood*, and was the son-in-law of Christopher North.

Allan Ramsay (1686–1758) was the first to start a circulating library in Scotland. He published his first volume of poems in 1720, and the *Gentle Shepherd* appeared in 1725. His monument now stands in Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh. In addition to their own value in Scottish poetry, Ramsay and Fergusson (who died before his genius had fully developed) deserve special mention as the predecessors of Burns, whose magnificent structure was raised on the foundations laid by the two earlier brother bards.

James Macpherson (1736–1796), the inventor or translator of *Ossian*, was one of the Scotsmen of the eighteenth century who attracted great attention to himself. He began his versification at the early age of seventeen, and he is said to have produced upwards of four thousand of the lines which were attributed to the semi-historical Scottish bard. How much Ossian had to do with these, and with the subsequent lines of the poem, was a matter of much controversy. It engaged the attention of Dr. Johnson and Horace Walpole, and other celebrities, but the question of the authorship of "Ossian's" poems was never decided in Macpherson's own time.

It may be questioned whether Robert Burns (1759–1796) has his equal as a writer of songs. No lyrics in any tongue have a more wonderful union of passion, tenderness, concentrated expressiveness of language, and apt poetic fancy. Intensely patriotic, yet mingled with his nationalism, is his broad human sympathy, so broad, humble, natural, and melting that he stands to-day as the poet not only of Scotland, or of his own age, but of every land and of every age. Though over a

hundred years have passed away since his death, his name is as fresh as the morning light which strikes across the fields where once he sang. He was emphatically the lyric poet of love; to love he first struck his lyre in the morning of his fame, but the tender passion degenerated into lust, and swayed his life until its close. Burns we love, even in his sin, more than we do others in their holiness. He sang himself into the heart of the English-speaking race; he restored to our poetry the passion which had not belonged to it since the days of Elizabeth; he carried men back to the age of Shakespeare, and gave them in different chords the music which then enchanted the world. I do not know which to wonder at most in his poems—their artless rusticity, or their artistic beauty. As a song-writer the world has not seen his like or his equal. The work of Burns, writes Hector Macpherson, may be summed up as follows: "He broke down the shallow deistic philosophy of human nature to which he was intellectually attracted, by showing its insufficiency in his own case to satisfy the infinite hunger of the heart, or tame the wild surgings of his passions. Moreover, he broke down the shallow optimism of the Deists by revealing, outside of the drawing-room area of frigid philosophers, a world of humanity seething with sorrow, misery, and injustice; and by demanding justice in the name of humanity for the lowliest of mortals, he gave a great impetus to the democratic spirit which sprang up in Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century. Further, Burns, by bringing nature and man into direct contact, broke the spell of the classical theory of poetry, and paved the way for the great literary revolution of the opening years of the nineteenth century."

Lord Byron (1788–1824) is another of the great poets of the world whom Scotland can rightly claim. Though born in London, he was partly educated in Aberdeen; his mother was a Gordon of Gight and Monkshill, the possessor of rich estates in the Dee country; her husband added her name to his own on their marriage, the boy being the only son of Mr. and Mrs. Byron-Gordon. All of this Byron remembered throughout his life; and in *Don Juan* he boasted that he was "half a Scot by birth, and bred a whole one." In his early

voyage to Greece, not only the shapes of the mountains but the kilts and hardy figures of the Albanesi, "carried him back to Morven," he declared. And in his last fatal expedition, the uniform he designed for himself consisted, in part, of a Gordon-tartan jacket.

His rise to fame was almost unexampled in its suddenness and rapidity. He challenged attention as a revolter against the cast-iron mould into which society would press all men, defying morality and religion alike. His women are all of the Oriental type—sensual, devoted, and loving; but the love is more animal than rational—inordinate and unreasoning. The powerful motive of passion is supreme in his poems, the root-cause of which undoubtedly lies in his own disposition. He claimed absolute liberty of thought and of action, not only for himself, but for others; he invested vice with a kind of morbid picturesqueness which shocked the sensibilities of his own generation. His philosophy centred in himself—his moods, morals, and mental attitude towards the doctrine of religion; his fancied experience and stormful imagination. All this he gives us in *Don Juan*, and it is the one great characteristic of his earlier poems. In his later effusions he breaks away from his morbid self and comes into closer touch with the natural school. He was a poet of great intellectual power; fascinating and realistic. He redeemed his old obstinate self by the genuineness of his passion for liberty when he laboured and died to release Greece from the yoke of the Turk. He is responsible for many of the mistaken ideas about the romantic heroism of the modern Greek. Among his most important works are *Childe Harold*, *Don Juan*, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, and *The Siege of Corinth*. His gift of delineating character was great, but his types were few, owing to the temper and constitution of his mind. He had only two: the man whose ungoverned passions had turned his heart into a waste and dreary wild, lonesome, and impenetrable; and the man who is tainted with scepticism and overcome with despair, disdaining his fellows, yet occasionally feeling the softer emotions of the soul in all their sacredness and intensity. Byron was a man of colossal intellectual power, and he should not be judged by the

ordinary standard of ordinary men. Behind the morbid self which wearied him, as it wearied others, there was that high artistic temperament which atones for his many personal limitations; hence the secret of the mystic influence which Byron has exercised over the imagination of the English-speaking race. Within, all is profligate—dark, wearisome, and sensual; but without, all is brilliant—lighted up by the consummate artistry of one who is skilled in delicate and happy touches of poetry.

Thomas Campbell (1777–1844) was another gifted Scottish poet, with intellectual power and resources amounting almost to positive genius. He made the memory of the battle of Hohenlinden immortal; his stanzas on that memorable conflict of December 3, 1800, when the French defeated the Austrians, rank among the grandest battle-pieces that ever were drawn.

"Few, few shall part where many meet!
The snow shall be their winding-sheet;
And every turf beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre!"

His *Pleasures of Hope* demonstrate how intellectual vigour may be quickened, and the words of a poet may become barbed with steel, in pleading for a noble cause. With a heart framed to feel all that was human, he depicted with a pathos and a sublimity as rare as it is powerful, the shameful wrongs inflicted upon Poland by the oppressor, when it was conquered and divided by a merciless foe.

"Oh, bloodiest picture in the book of time!
Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime;
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arms, nor mercy in her woe!
Dropped from her nerveless grasp the shattered spear,
Closed her bright eye, and curbed her high career:
Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell!

The sun went down, now ceased the carnage there;
Tumultuous murder shook the midnight air—
On Prague's proud arch the fires of ruin glow,
His blood-dyed waters murmuring far below.

The storm prevails, the rampart yields a way,
Bursts the wild cry of horror and dismay!
Hark! as the smouldering piles with thunder fall,
A thousand shrieks for hopeless mercy call!
Earth shook, red meteors flashed along the sky,
And conscious Nature shuddered at the cry!"

Among the foremost Scottish historians and philosophers stands David Hume (1711–1776). He it was who brought Rousseau, the French writer, to England. In 1767 Hume was made Secretary of State. At his death, and for a hundred years after, he was "Hume the Historian"; to-day his historical work has been superseded, but his fame as a philosopher is as great as ever, if not greater. His philosophy stands for a permanent attitude of a certain phase of human thought. Hume was the real father of modern agnosticism; but he was not personally antagonistic to religion, however much his theories might be. His speculations were based on reason. Perhaps he took too narrow a view of experience; he certainly never realised the part that "faith" has played in human experience. In limiting experience to the "appearances" of things and to the "senses," which he believed to be illusive, he missed that part of reality which is beyond the sense. The answer of the idealist to Hume is, that such a limitation is arbitrary, that the experience of the soul is of greater value than the experience of the senses, and that it responds to the reality that underlies all appearances. Not that Hume's scepticism has no value; it has in it greater honesty and, I may say, greater faith than many of the creeds and the shibboleths that emanate from pulpits and churches. It is a wholesome corrective of that shallow piety and sentimentalism that have been canonised by preachers and revivalists. Hume's influence on the philosophical side was epoch-making. By reducing to scepticism the systems of Locke and Berkeley, he roused into philosophic activity Immanuel Kant, from whose writings sprang the school of German philosophy, which culminated in Hegel. We should not, however, overlook the fact that David Hume, besides being a philosopher and anti-theological writer, was a pioneer in the field of political economy. He did much to

encourage Adam Smith in the production of his great work, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, and Adam Smith owed many of his brilliant ideas to Hume.

William Robertson (1721–1793), the historian, was born in 1721. His monumental work, *The History of Scotland*, appeared before he was forty. The work was a subject of great surprise and admiration to Horace Walpole, who said that he could not understand how a man whose spoken dialect was so uncouth to English ears could write such fine and perfect English. Among his other works are histories of Charles v. and of America. He became Principal of the University of Edinburgh in 1762, and held the position until he died, thirty-one years later. He made the college so important in the eyes of studious men that it drew many serious-minded undergraduates from Oxford and Cambridge. He established the library fund, and was chiefly instrumental in giving the University its new buildings.

Another gifted Scotsman who contributed to the culture of his age was Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), historian and philosopher. He won his fame by his lectures on "The Law of Nature and Nations," and by his defence of Pellier, who was prosecuted for libelling Napoleon Bonaparte. He wrote a *History of England*, *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, and other works. In 1830 he became Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Thomas Reid (1710–1796) became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen in 1752, and succeeded Adam Smith in a similar post at Glasgow, in 1764. He attacked Berkeley and Hume, and was the master of Dugald Stewart and Sir William Hamilton. Reid has not had justice done him. His reply to Hume is by competent judges said to be full of suggestive thoughts, and in some directions his criticisms are anticipatory of Kant, though of course lacking in the profundity and comprehensiveness of the great German.

Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), so intimately associated with the University of Edinburgh, and with which institution he was connected for fifty-seven years, wrote the famous essay on *Dreaming* at the age of eighteen, which was afterwards published in the first volume of *The Philosophy of the Human*

Mind. In 1775 he became Joint-Professor (with his father) of Mathematics in Edinburgh University, and in 1785 succeeded Adam Ferguson in the chair of Moral Philosophy. He also wrote *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, and accounts of the *Life and Writings of Adam Smith*, of *Dr. Robertson* and of *Dr. Reid.*

Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), a graduate of St. Andrews, Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh in 1759, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1764. He is remembered not only for his erudition, but for the interesting fact that he was, in 1786, instrumental in bringing together the two popular poets of Scotland for the first time—Burns and Scott. There was a gathering together of "several gentlemen of literary reputation," and Scott, a boy of fifteen, was present. Burns was affected by one of the pictures on the wall, and the lines printed beneath it; he actually shed tears, and asked whose the lines were. None of the gentlemen of literary reputation volunteering the information, Scott whispered to a friend that they were "Langhorne's," and the friend told Burns, who turned to the boy with a look and a word. "You'll be a man yet," Burns said, and those words and that look are all the link between these two great Scottish poets, who "spoke each other in passing"—the two most interesting and absorbing figures in literature. "Adam Ferguson's house," to quote some now forgotten poet, "was the spot where Robert Burns ordained Sir Walter Scott." Tobias Smollett wrote in *Humphry Clinker* that Edinburgh in his day (the last half of the eighteenth century) was a hotbed of genius, and among them he included Adam Ferguson.

Sir William Hamilton, born at Glasgow (1788–1856),—logician, philosopher, and metaphysician,—was a Scotsman. His critique of *Cousin's System of Philosophy* gave him a place among the best philosophic writers of his time; and in 1836 being appointed to the chair of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh, he began to re-establish the Scottish School of Metaphysicians most successfully. His lectures have been collected and edited by Dean Mansel and Professor Veitch.

Professor John Wilson (1785–1854), better known as "Christopher North," was appointed Professor of Moral

Philosophy at Edinburgh in 1820, and occupied the chair for a period of thirty-two years. His appointment was hotly contested on account of the eccentricities of his genius, but he was warmly supported by Sir Walter Scott. By the sheer force of his talent he fought his way to an eminence of the highest moral and literary responsibility. He was a friend of Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge. In 1812 he published his poems, the *Isle of Palms.* He was also the author of *The City of the Plague.* He was one of the original contributors to *Blackwood's Magazine.* He wrote *Noctes Ambrosianæ* and *Recreations of Christopher North* (both from magazine articles); *The Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*, *The Trials of Margaret Lindsay*, *The Foresters*, and *An Essay on the Genius and Character of Burns.*

Professor John Stuart Blackie (1809–1895), author of *Four Phases of Morals*, acquired the well-merited reputation of being one of the ablest and most profound Greek scholars in Europe, of which he gave abundant proof by his many valuable contributions to our knowledge of the language and literature of the most cultivated nation of antiquity, and of the philosophical theories and speculations of its sages and leaders of thought. He held that the English practice of pronouncing classical Greek according to the Latin method, and with the Latin accents, is both barbarous and unscientific, resting upon no sound principle. Professor Blackie studied archæology in Italy and European scholarship in Germany, and published a translation in verse of Goethe's tragedy of *Faust.* He published a translation into English verse of the works of the great poet Æschylus, and similar versions of other Greek classical writings. His investigations into the analogy between the Celtic and the classical languages led him to advocate the retention of the Gaelic tongue on the ground that while English is necessary, the older tongue is worth preserving for the sake of its literature and legends, as well as for its philological interests and its associations with the history of the past. He also founded a Gaelic chair in the University of Edinburgh. His work on self-culture, published in 1874, possessed great merit and achieved wide popularity. In his *Four Phases of Morals* Professor Blackie traces the growth of

human thought from the age of Socrates and Aristotle, to that of Christianity and the later phases of Utilitarianism. He wrote the life of Robert Burns, to the brilliance of whose poetic genius and the fervour of whose patriotism he was fully alive, for, like Burns and Sir Walter Scott, he was a great enthusiast for the scenery and legends of his native land, and loved to recount those deeds of daring and devotion which had been achieved by Scotsmen in days gone by.

In the field of Political Economy, there are two Scotsmen who have won world-wide fame. The first is Adam Smith (1723–1790), educated at Kirkcaldy School, Glasgow University, and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1751 he became Professor of Logic in Glasgow; the following year he was Professor of Moral Philosophy. During the years 1764–6 he travelled with the Duke of Buccleuch; in 1778 became Commissioner of Customs in Scotland; and in 1787 was chosen Rector of Glasgow University. He wrote the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, and *The Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (his most celebrated work, and deemed the precursor of the modern science of economics). Adam Smith's conception of society, as revealed in his *Wealth of Nations*, leaves no room for the theory for which the Covenanters fought. He was a Deist, not an Atheist. He and Francis Hutchison reflected the temperament of the eighteenth century in Scotland, in their efforts to dissociate moral philosophy from theology. He stood in opposition to the theologians, and simply ignored the theory of supernatural stimulus as represented by the Covenanting section of Protestantism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), who, like Carlyle, was the son of a Scottish peasant, is the other of the two great figures in Political Economics. He became the recognised leader in the best intellectual circles of his time, and with a mind which developed unusually early in life, he probed the deepest questions that affect the welfare of mankind. His power of seeing, of knowing, and of learning continued to grow with advancing years. He could read English before he was three years old; at the age of eight he had mastered

arithmetic, and had carried on extensive studies in English and Greek history and literature, including six dialogues of Plato. By the time he reached the age of twelve he had read all the well-known Greek and Latin authors, and had studied geometry, algebra, and the higher mathematics, and devoured treatises on chemistry. At this age he began logic and political economy, for both of which sciences he had the greatest aptitude.

His first and most important work was his *System of Logic*, which was published in 1879. There is still more in this work than the title would indicate, for Mill oversteps the bounds of logic, properly so called, and enters the domain of psychology and metaphysics. The book is a recognised classic on logical science. His system of induction, contained in the third book, was a new departure in the department of scientific methods and procedure. Contrary to the practice of former writers, Mill employed this department of the science not merely as a logical process, but as a means of scientific investigation. His chief contribution to ethical and philosophical literature, besides the *Logic*, was his *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*. This work, though of a polemical character, fairly represents his position as a metaphysician of the empirical school. In his work entitled *Utilitarianism*, he makes the tendency to cause happiness or the reverse the real test of the rightness or wrongness of actions. But the most celebrated of all his contributions to ethics and philosophy was his book on *Liberty*, which was a protest against the tyranny exercised by society over the individual. His other works include *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform* (1859), *Considerations on Representative Governments* (1861), and *The Subjection of Women* (1869), which, with a large number of articles and pamphlets, constitute the expression of his views on social and political questions. His productions are remarkable for two things, namely, adhesion to strictly scientific methods of inquiry, and absolute fairness to the views of those who differed from him. For a period of three years, from 1865 to 1868, he sat in Parliament as the Radical member for Westminster. Gladstone called him "The Saint

of Rationalism," a phrase which expresses Mill's soundness of mind and his high moral elevation. He was no flatterer. At a meeting chiefly composed of the working classes, during his candidature, one of the audience rose and asked him whether he had written a passage in one of his books, in which he stated that the working classes of England, though ashamed of lying, were yet generally liars. Without hesitation, prevarication, or apology, Mill answered, "I did." Strange to relate, his reply was received with a vehement burst of applause, and a working man got up and said that he felt under an obligation to any one who told them anything in themselves which he sincerely believed to require amendment. What Mill pinned his faith to so far as the future of the working man and every other class is concerned was education; but who, he wished to know, was to educate the educators? He was as dissatisfied with Eton as with elementary schools. He favoured some scheme of reform affecting the older Universities. Mill was capable of deep affection, as manifested in his devotion to the person and memory of his wife, but love in him was a sentiment apart from sensuousness. His nature was intellectual, and it was his intellect that determined his conduct, the nature of his ideas, and their development. He stood for complete equality between men and women; he was in favour of the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men, and of the education of girls on as broad and liberal lines as boys. Mill never shrank from the logical developments of his own principles. He was quite as strongly in favour of equality between class and class, between employer and employed. But he held that under no circumstances should the working classes be allowed predominance. He had but little faith in them; indeed, there was in him an undercurrent of contempt for the great mass of mankind, especially English mankind. His sense of justice was strong, and he was intensely in favour of minority representation. He was not in favour of a government that rested merely on the counting of heads; and he believed in admitting to the franchise only those men and women who could pass an educational test. A study of his economic position would lead one to the conclusion that he leaned to Protectionist ideas, though

he did not largely develop them. He supported, in principle at any rate, the encouragement of infant industries, and of those industries that suffered through unjust competition. As a remedy against what he considered to be the danger of temporary low tariffs becoming permanently high ones, he suggested that State aid for the creation and maintenance of industries should be given in the form of bounties that would not be permanent, instead of in the form of tariff.

In principle Mill was a Socialist, but his fixed conviction was that Socialism was only applicable under conditions and achievements in education such as do not now exist and are not within sight. He was distinctly opposed to land nationalisation, but he favoured State aid for the purchase of land upon which to establish a peasantry. Land and large fortunes he regarded as fair subjects for heavy taxation, but he was opposed to the abolition of indirect taxes, because there was no known method of direct taxation that could be substituted without creating greater evils than those it would cure. In his letters to Judge Chapman of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, Mill's imagination takes a leap into the future from Buckle's observations on the effects of the aspects of nature upon moral characteristics, and thence on social developments, and he speculates on what would happen were emigration to denude England of agricultural labourers, and people had to ask themselves whether "we shall have to import Chinese to supply the vacancy." He prophesied that English statesmanship would have to assume a new character, and to look to a more direct way than before to the interests of posterity. "We are now," wrote he, "standing on the very boundary line between the new statesmanship and the old, and the next generation will be accustomed to a very different set of political arguments and topics from those of the present and the past." Mill's prescience has been amply vindicated in this direction, though his prognostications as to the Church and the House of Lords have not yet been fulfilled. Because the first Reform Bill was rejected by the House of Lords, Mill declared that the knell of both the Church and of the House of Lords had been sounded. Even if the Lords surrendered without the creation of peers, and passed the Bill, that, he

thought, would not save them. "They will come," declared he, "into collision with the Reformed House on some other point, and will certainly go to the wall. You may consider the fate of the Church sealed." Forty-four years have passed since those words were uttered by Mill, yet the Church and Peers are still with us.

Very little is known of Mill's inner life and domestic associations. In his own day he was regarded as a good and a great man. This we learn from the "Notes on the Private Life of John Stuart Mill," supplied by Miss Mary Taylor, and which appears in *The Letters of John Stuart Mill*, published by Longmans. Mill confessed to a consciousness of loving and of being loved. He confessed to the sense of protection which such a consciousness gave him, and the alleviation from the smaller ills of life. "Nothing," he wrote, "so alleviates the smaller evils and almost converts them into good, as the sympathy of those who love us, and whom we entirely love." Mill had but little emotion in his nature. Reason to him was the guide to virtue, wisdom, and the high prizes of life. He had for a father a man who regarded all emotions as forms of madness. The rigid discipline of home never gave his nature a chance, and he was never allowed to be a boy. Of the dreams and fancies of childhood he had no experience, and the light of God's truth was not permitted to break in upon his soul. That Mill realised the defect of the system under which he was educated there cannot be any doubt. His *Three Essays on Religion*, written at different periods, and extending back as far as 1850, and which were published after his death, warrant the supposition that had he lived longer, his admiration for Christ, as "the greatest moral reformer who ever existed upon earth," would have developed into an acceptance of the Christian religion in one of its organised forms. He died May 1873.

In the field of Biography it is sufficient to mention Boswell (1740–1795), the biographer of Dr. Johnson. He was an Edinburgh man, the eldest son of Lord Auchinleck. He met Johnson in 1760, and became on terms of friendship with Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paoli. Although the name of Boswell is one of the most familiar names in the literary

world, yet comparatively little is known of his history. He entered the University of Edinburgh at an early age, and while an undergraduate made his first attempt as a dramatic author. He wrote the prologue for what he supposed to be an original play, but when the comedy was produced in public it was proved to be not only a gross plagiarism, but an utter failure. He suffered much in reputation, but Lady Houston was womanly enough to confess that the plagiarism was her own and not that of Boswell. Boswell, however, was a man of great literary taste and aptitude, and his *Life of Samuel Johnson* forms a landmark in literature, and gave him an immortal fame. He was forty-six years of age when the *Tour to the Hebrides* appeared. He was fifty-one when his *Life of Johnson* appeared.

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), the son of a Scottish peasant, born at Ecclefechan in Dumfriesshire, was the greatest English writer, and one of the most remarkable characters, of the nineteenth century. He tramped a hundred miles from the paternal doorstep to enter his own name on the books of the University of Edinburgh, in 1809, before he had reached the age of fourteen. His father and mother walked with him on the dark frosty autumn morning to set him on his road; his mother, to quote his own words, showing her "tremulous affection" at every step. He learnt very little at college; in philosophy and in classics he was nothing, and did not carry away a single prize. In fact, his professors never noticed him; but, according to Carlyle, among the eleven hundred students, there were eleven willing to learn, and he was one of them. Little did his own professors think that the man who occupied those cheap and forlorn lodgings in Simon's Square, would become Rector of the University in 1865, and one of the most famous men of the world; and would commemorate his election by bequeathing his estate of Craigenputtock to found bursaries in the University. He was a writer of amazing power, sanity, and eloquence, who is entitled to rank among the strongest of all times; a totally unornamented force—hard, angular distinctness; one of the few among the many millions who say what men do not

forget, with a conviction that convinces, and the best practical intellect of the time. Carlyle had an extraordinary sense of the organism of society, and a vehement antipathy to "individualism"—the ideal which dominated thought in that age. The language in which he expressed himself was strong, even violent; but there are times when men are so stirred by the evils which exist, that they lose their sense of proportion, in their desire to end them. Men should be tested by their aims rather than by their methods. Carlyle preferred even serfdom to the "nomadic relation" between capitalist and labourer in civilised countries at that time, and one aspect of his genius was the capacity to communicate his own spirit of dissatisfaction to others. His *Sartor Resartus*, which gave him his fame, and which contains a fair account of what college life was to its author, was received at first with scepticism and disdain, but it will be read longest. To his *Past and Present* is attributed the great movement for popular education in England. His *Chartism*, published in 1840, did more actual good than any other book of the century. His incursion into the realm of biography was as original as it was refreshing. Carlyle found an outlet for his genius in other than Scottish spheres of thought and activity. He contributed to the patriotic spirit by his sympathetic interpretation of the religious side of the national life. By introducing the German element, however, he helped to lead the Scottish mind out of the parochial into the cosmopolitan area. In his biographies of Cromwell and Frederick he exposes their weaknesses in a way unknown to writers of that branch of literature. Carlyle needs no eulogy to stamp him with the attributes of true greatness.

What of Science? Unquestionably Scotland has reason to be proud of the achievements of her sons in this department. The honourable place she won for herself in the eighteenth century she has since maintained. In the earlier centuries it was inevitable that science, like other branches of knowledge, should be conditioned in its development by national environments. Owing to social, political, and religious difficulties, Scotland was kept in a

backward state; it was not till the Union that the national intellect was able to proceed on the path of progress. "It is a curious fact," observes Hector Macpherson, in his very valuable contribution to this branch of the subject, "that the Scottish scientists have shown a marked fondness for the abstruse parts of science; they have taken a special interest in such problems as the nature and constitution of matter." This may, probably, be accounted for by the long centuries of theological training which the Scottish intellect has undergone. In this sphere, of what may be called "transcendental physics," the Scottish school of scientists may be placed in the front rank.

This is admitted by the author of *European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, as follows: "The important task of rebuilding the edifice of the physical sciences, and establishing it on a large scale, fell almost exclusively into the hands of what we may call the Scottish school of natural philosophy—James and William Thomson, Macquorn Rankine, James Clerk-Maxwell, and Balfour Stewart in this country, whilst Clausius worked abroad almost alone." In the same connection is the following testimony by the same author: "The real compendium of the new doctrine is the treatise on natural philosophy by Thomson and Tait, which has probably done more than any other book in this country to lead the mathematical students at the foremost universities and colleges into paths more useful for physical and experimental research. The greatest exponent of the new ideas was James Clerk-Maxwell (1831–1879), to whom is also due the merit of having applied them for the purpose of testing and confirming the worth of the treasure which lay hidden in the experimental researches of Faraday. Next to the handbook of Thomson and Tait, no writings, probably, have done more—especially outside of England, on the Continent, and in America—than those of Maxwell to revolutionise the teaching of natural philosophy."

In the more complex science of Organic Nature there is the name of Alexander Wilson (1766–1813), the great ornithologist, who emigrated to America in 1794, and who was Scottish both by blood and birth. The droll verses, *Watty*

and Meg, by which he is best known, are written in Scottish dialect. He made a name for himself as a naturalist, and made a collection of all the birds that were found in North America. The result appeared in the first volume of an *American Ornithology* in 1808. The seventh volume was published just before he died, in 1813. An eighth and a ninth volume were published afterwards, the work being continued by Charles Lucien Bonaparte, brother of the great Napoleon.

In that sphere of Biology connected with the origin of species, Scotland has not done any special work. Robert Chambers (1802–1871), in virtue of his long-acknowledged *Vestiges of Creation*, may be regarded as the forerunner of Darwin. By familiarising the public mind with the idea of evolution, he in no small degree prepared the way for the reception of Darwin's epoch-making work. At the age of twenty he wrote his inimitable *Traditions of Edinburgh*, which won him great popularity, and the *Edinburgh Journal*, which he and his brother published in 1832, was a great success. He died 1871.

In Geology, there is one Scottish thinker of the eighteenth century for whom we can claim a high place—James Hutton (1726–1797). His theory of the earth's formation, sound at heart, contains serious imperfections, with which it was the work of another Scotsman, Sir Charles Lyell, effectively to deal. James Hutton may indeed be called the father of geology, and to him belongs the credit of having placed it on a scientific basis. When he began to study the earth geologically, the most elementary notions prevailed on the subject. The great changes everywhere apparent were associated with the Deluge; but Hutton, as the result of prolonged study, concluded that the earth, instead of being a rigid mass, is everywhere undergoing changes. He taught that the hardest rocks are being disintegrated by atmospheric, mechanical, and chemical agencies; also that the oceans are perpetually encroaching upon the land. If this process continues long enough, entire continents will be worn away, and with the wearing away of the continents comes the filling of the oceans. To Hutton it seemed clear "that the basis of the present continents was laid in ancient sea-beds formed

of the detritus of continents yet more ancient." There remained a vital point—through what agency were rocks lifted above oceans to form new continents? Hutton's reply was, subterraneous heat, which by volcanic action upheaved ocean-beds to form continents. This theory Hutton gave publicity to in 1785, in a paper to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, after years of silent study. The theory met with the most violent opposition from a rival school headed by a German named Werner, who propounded the aqueous theory. The Huttonians were known as Plutonists, while the followers of Werner were called Neptunists. Facts in abundance came later to amply prove the correctness of Hutton's theory, and which to-day holds the field.

Sir Charles Lyell (1797–1875) set to work to apply Hutton's own theory of gradual changes to the entire geological phenomena. He denied the existence of great violent upheavals, and contended that the phenomena of the past were explainable on the theory of gradual changes. Lyell pinned his faith not merely to the uniformity of nature, but also to the marvellous effects of gradual changes, extending over long periods of time. Phenomena, which the Hutton school thought could only be produced by volcanic eruptions, were traced by Lyell to the slow action of warmth, frost, and rain. Lyell, however, had not exhausted all the causes of the earth's changes. It began to be seen that great among the causes was ice, and after much controversy the existence of a great Ice Age was admitted, the influence of which had to be added to the causes mentioned by Lyell as a factor in sculpturing the earth, so to speak, into its present shape. Darwin said: "The science of geology is enormously indebted to Lyell—more so, I believe, than to any other man who ever lived."

James Croll (1821–1890) followed up the ideas of Lyell, and made some important discoveries regarding the effects of climate as influenced by astronomical changes. Sir Roderick Murchison (1792–1871) continued the labours of Lyell, and did good work in the exploration of what is known as the "transition rocks."

Hugh Miller (1802–1856) is another Scottish geologist

of great note, and a writer of prominence. He popularised science just when it was in danger of being buried in the débris of technical terms. Among his works are *The Old Red Sandstone*, which established his reputation, also *Poems written in the Leisure Hours of a Journeyman Mason*, *Scenes and Legends of Cromarty*, *Footsteps of the Creator*, *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, *Essays—Historical and Critical*, *Rambles of a Geologist*, and *The Testimony of the Rocks*. In this last work Miller endeavoured to reconcile the Mosaic account of the Creation with the teachings of geology. His death occurred in 1856, at the age of fifty-four.

Of the Scotsmen who have contributed to the science of Pathology the name of William Cullen (1710–1790), an eighteenth-century man, takes a high place. It is claimed that to him is largely due the recognition of the important part played by the nervous system in health and disease. Many of his speculations as to the reflex nervous action of sensory and motor fibres, and the connection of sensory and motor fibres, are accepted facts.

John Hunter (1728–1793) is another Scotsman who gave a marked impetus to this department of scientific knowledge. He was equally at home in pathology and physiology. He grasped the modern idea of the continuity of nature better than any of his contemporaries, and he made it the guiding idea in his investigations. In treating of the human body he declared it to be necessary to proceed by the aid of principles derived from a study of animals, whose laws again must be studied through the laws of inorganic matter. He aimed at uniting all branches of physical science in the order of their development, proceeding from the simple to the complex. His researches cover the whole range of the animal kingdom. He dissected upwards of five hundred different species, exclusive of his dissection of a large number of plants. At the time of his death his museum contained over ten thousand specimens illustrative of human and natural history. The collection was purchased by the Government for the sum of £15,000, and presented to the Royal College of Surgeons.

Sir Charles Bell (1774–1842) published, in 1811, a pamphlet in which he claimed that "the nerves are not single nerves,

possessing various powers, but bundles of different nerves, whose filaments are united for the convenience of distribution, but which are distinct in office as they are in origin from the brain." Sir Michael Foster declared it as his opinion that our present knowledge of the nervous system had its origin in Sir Charles Bell's "New Idea."

In what is called Cellular Physiology, important contributions were made by Professor John Goodsir (1814–1867) and his brother.

In Embryology, Professor Arthur Thomson deserves honourable mention, so does Professor Geddes.

In the science of Medicine, not much progress was made in Scotland until the close of the seventeenth century. Since then it has made wonderful advances. The first charter was granted to the surgeons by the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1505, and to-day Edinburgh has a fame which is world-wide.

In the field of Physics Scotland can claim to have done much excellent pioneering work. Joseph Black (1728–1799), who flourished in the eighteenth century, by means of his investigations into the nature of heat, put scientists on the track of the modern doctrine of the indestructibility and transformation of force. The forces of nature, such as heat, light, and electricity, had, previous to the days of Black, been treated as independent entities, but he showed that they are simply temporary manifestations of one form of energy, which, in its totality, is incapable of increase or diminution. By his discovery of what we now call latent heat he struck a severe blow at the old view, though he did not at that time perceive the issues involved in his own theory. Thus, from Black's investigations into the nature of heat, the scientific mind proceeded till it was able to formulate the law of the mechanical equivalent of heat, which has since become the corner-stone of the far-reaching law of the conservation of energy. Black's latent heat theory was of the utmost aid to James Watt in connection with his labours on the steam-engine.

Sir John Leslie (1766–1832) is another Scotsman who contributed to the study of heat and light; he anticipated what

is now known as the evolutionary view of nature. At a time when nature was treated on the department system, when each part was supposed to have been specially created, Leslie writes as follows: "We should recollect that in all her productions Nature exhibits a chain of perpetual gradations, and that the systematic divisions and limitations are entirely artificial, and designed merely to assist the memory and facilitate our conceptions." The evolution idea of Darwin and Spencer is to be found in Leslie's writings—that idea being the continuity of nature. Further than this, we find him entering a region which is even now in our advanced state dark and mysterious. In a strain which is remarkable for its anticipatory spirit, we find Leslie saying "that even dead or inorganic substances must in their recondite arrangements exert such varying energies as, if fully unveiled to our eyes, could not fail to strike us with wonder and surprise."

The line of thought started by Black and Leslie was pursued by James Clerk-Maxwell, the late Lord Kelvin, and the late Professor Tait. Under the spell of the new doctrine of the conservation of energy, the old atomic conception of matter began to be studied afresh. The atom, which was formerly conceived as a hard, indestructible substance, began to be viewed as a centre of energy. By his investigations into the electro-magnetic theory of light, Clerk-Maxwell was led to the conclusion that we are not dealing with properties of matter, but with undulations or vibration of energy. As the outcome of these investigations, it is now proved "that all forms of radiant energy, whatever their exact affinities, consist essentially of undulating motions of one uniform medium." What is this medium? It has been called the ether; and here we come upon perhaps the boldest attempt ever made to solve the problem of matter. By his famous vortex-ring theory, Lord Kelvin sought to show how matter itself may have been evolved from the ether.

In Astronomy, as already mentioned, Scotland claims one self-taught astronomer in the person of James Ferguson.

Alexander Wilson, the first Director of the Glasgow Observatory, was a contemporary of Ferguson. His fame is by no means equal to his merit. He was the virtual founder

of the scientific study of the sun, and the first to make an exhaustive study of sun-spots. Wilson stands among the first of the Glasgow school of astronomers who made such a substantial contribution to astronomy and meteorology in Scotland.

Thomas Henderson (1798–1844) was one of the most famous astronomers of his age. He was the first to measure the distance of the stars, and thus solved a problem which had baffled the greatest men of science, from Galileo to Herschel. Contemporary with Henderson at Edinburgh was John Pringle Nichol (1804–1859), Glasgow University. As an observer Nichol ranked far below Henderson, but as a constructive thinker he ranked above him. His work in defending the nebular hypothesis, when most of the great men of science had abandoned it, can never be forgotten. On his death, in 1859, he was succeeded by Robert Grant (1813–1892), whose *History of Physical Astronomy* is a standard work to this day. Other names might be mentioned, such as Sir David Gill, whose work in the same line—practical astronomy—has gained for him an enduring reputation.

James Watt (1736–1819), the inventor of the steam-engine, and the inventor of a letter-copying press and other mechanical appliances, was a Scotsman.

The discoverer of the anæsthetic properties of chloroform was a Scotsman, in the person of Sir James Young Simpson (1811–1870). He is called the discoverer of chloroform because he was the first to bring chloroform into active personal service. In 1846 news came to Scotland of the first trials of sulphuric ether in America. "It is a glorious thought," he said, when he heard of it. The thought suggested another. He believed that a more efficient and portable anæsthetic was possible. He turned his attention to chloroform. Up to that time it had been solely used for internal administration, and he determined upon an extended range. On November 4, 1847, he, with his two assistants, Drs. Keith and Duncan, tried the experiment of inhaling chloroform. They all fell insensible below the table. Fourteen days after the experiment a public trial was made at the Edinburgh Infirmary, when it was conclusively proved that

an anæsthetic of incalculable value to the human race had been discovered. Objections to its use were made by the clergy and churches on the ground that they considered it a danger to health, morals, and religion. Following this discovery Sir James Simpson was appointed Her Majesty's Physician for Scotland. He became Foreign Associate of the Academy of Medicine of Paris. In 1856 he was awarded the Monthyon prize of two thousand francs by the French Academy of Sciences for "most important benefits done to humanity." The King of Sweden gave him the Order of St. Olaf, Oxford granted him the D.C.L. in 1866, and in the same year Queen Victoria made him a Baronet. It was the first baronetcy ever given to a doctor practising in Scotland. He was also interested in literature, and published three volumes on antiquarian subjects. It is claimed for him that he prophesied in his graduate address the discovery of "Röntgen's rays." He was born at Bathgate, Linlithgowshire, in 1811, and died May 6, 1870. The offer of burial in Westminster Abbey was declined, and he was buried at Edinburgh. There is a statue of him in Princes Street, and a bust at Westminster Abbey with the following eulogy: "That to Simpson's genius and benevolence the world owes the blessings derived from the use of chloroform for the relief of suffering."

Henry Bell (1767–1830) was born at Linlithgow. As early as 1786 he seems to have considered the possibility of applying steam to navigation. In 1812 he launched the *Comet*, a vessel 40 feet long, on the river Clyde. It had an engine constructed by himself, and was the first vessel of the kind that sailed in European waters successfully. He was the first to introduce steam navigation into Europe.

Sir David Brewster (1781–1868) was one of the founders of the British Association, and the inventor of the kaleidoscope. He was made Principal of the United College of St. Andrews in 1838, and retained the position for nearly a quarter of a century. In 1860 he resigned, to accept the Principalship of Edinburgh, his *alma mater*. He took an active part in what was called the "Disruption" Movement; and he was one of the founders of the Free Kirk. The

University authorities resented his attitude, and an attempt was made by the Established Church Presbytery of St. Andrews to eject him from his chair. Public opinion, however, was on his side, and in 1845 the case was "quashed," to use his own words. Brewster, as Vice-Chancellor of the University, presided at the installation of Lord Brougham as Chancellor.

Lord Kelvin (1824–1907) was second wrangler and first Smith's prizeman at Cambridge in 1845. From 1846 to 1899 he was Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. He has made most important contributions to our knowledge of electricity, magnetism, and heat. He was knighted in 1866 for his services in connection with the Atlantic cable, and made a peer in 1892.

It is an interesting fact that the authorship of "Rule, Britannia," one of the various British National Anthems, is claimed by two Scotsmen, James Thomson (1700–1748) and David Mallett (1698–1765), friends and class-mates at Edinburgh.

Among the few of Scotland's great painters of former days, may be mentioned Sir Henry Raeburn (1756–1823), a contemporary of Scott; and among painters of later days, Sir George Reid, who was President of the Scottish Academy.

Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841) was born in Fifeshire. He won his reputation by "The Village Politicians," which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806. In 1811 he became an Academician. He subsequently travelled on the Continent, and while in Spain was much influenced in his art by Velasquez and Murillo. He returned to England in 1830, and became Painter-in-Ordinary to the King. Among his other paintings were: "Blind Fiddler," "Rent Day," "Cut Finger," "Penny Wedding," "Cottar's Saturday Night," "Blind Man's Buff," "Chelsea Pensioners," "John Knox preaching before the Lords of the Congregation," etc.

Sir Noel Paton (1821–1901), an Edinburgh man, is another great historical painter. He was born 1821, and attracted attention by his outline etchings illustrative of Shakespeare and Shelley; exhibited his first picture, "Ruth Gleaning," in 1844; gained a premium at the Westminster

competition for his fresco, "Spirit of Religion," and a prize for "The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania," and "Christ Bearing the Cross." "The Pursuit of Pleasure," "Home," "Mors Janua Vitæ," "The Man with the Muck Rake," etc., are known by engravings.

In Politics there are some distinguished Scotsmen, both past and present, who have rendered conspicuous service. Lord Brougham (1778–1868) is one of them; he greatly assisted in passing the Reform Bill of 1832. Along with Jeffrey and Sydney Smith, he started the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802.

Scotland can boast of several very distinguished soldiers. Among the seventeenth-century men may be mentioned David Leslie. He served under the King of Sweden, but returned to Scotland when the Civil War began. His Scottish Horse supported Cromwell's charge at Marston Moor, and when the Scottish Parliament took up arms on behalf of Charles II., he was appointed Commander-in-Chief. After the battle of Worcester, he was imprisoned till the Restoration; in 1661 he received the title of Lord Newark for his services. He died 1682.

Sir John Moore was a Glasgow man (1761–1809). He was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Portugal in 1808, and fell at Corunna in 1809.

Lord Napier of Magdala (1810–1890) was a Scotsman. He saw heavy service in India between 1845 and 1849, and afterwards at the time of the Mutiny. In 1867 he was entrusted with the Abyssinian expedition, and took Magdala, April 13, 1868.

Sir Colin Campbell (1792–1863) was the son of a Glasgow cabinet-maker. He served with Wellington and Sir John Moore in Spain, and was afterwards stationed in the West Indies. In 1842 he was given the command of the 98th Regiment in China, and at the close of the Chinese War he served in India, after which he was given the title of K.C.B. In 1854 he was made Major-General, and commanded the Highland Brigade in the Crimean War. He was appointed to chief command in the Indian Mutiny in recognition of his services at Alma and Balaclava. In 1857 he relieved Outram

and Havelock at Lucknow, crushing the rebellion in a year. He was made Lord Clyde, and given a pension of £2000. He died 1863.

Not only in the military sphere, but also in the sphere of commerce and statesmanship, the sons of Scotland have taken a leading part in the development of the British Empire. Into our dominions they went early, and went to stay. They and their descendants hold as great a sway in the affairs of Canada as any other nationality that has become part of that country. If we look back to the early eighties, history shows us that it was then the first great forward step was taken. Take the Canadian Pacific Railway, which traverses British North America from the St. Lawrence to the Pacific, covering a length of 2909 miles, and which was the prime means of building up the country. If we observe the men behind this great undertaking, we cannot fail to note the great part played by Scotsmen. The construction of the line, at a time when capitalists looked askance and engineers hesitated on account of the enormous difficulties attached to the project, needed strong wills, clear heads, and indomitable perseverance to make the enterprise a success not only from a commercial but from a national and Imperial view-point. These qualities were found in the Scotsmen who put their soul into the scheme. To-day, Lord Strathcona and Lord Mountstephen, the late Sir John MacDonald (the late Premier), Mackie, and the multi-millionaire James J. Hill, have reaped the credit and the profits which their national characteristics endowed them with. If you go to the far northland of Hudson's Bay, which is still away from the track of the average traveller, the trolley, and the express train, and if you find positions of responsibility, in nine cases out of ten you will find that it is Scotsmen who occupy them. These are the positions that require all that is true and manly in men.

Lord Strathcona, born 1820, emigrated as a poor lad to Canada at an early age. He has since been identified with the Hudson's Bay Company, and was the last Resident Governor of that corporation. He became Special Commissioner during the Riel Rebellion, and for his excellent services received the thanks of the Governor-General in

Council, in 1870. He was Member of the first Executive Council of the North-West Territories, was Member of Parliament, and connected with almost all the great commercial enterprises of the time, chief amongst them being the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Bank of Montreal, the St. Paul and Minneapolis Railway; and no one will ever forget the patriotic and practical loyalty which he showed in raising and equipping the famous Strathcona Horse during the South African War, at a time when things looked so dark and we were in need of real help and sympathy. Not there did he let his efforts rest, but his influence was exerted to its utmost in Canada on the Mother-Country's behalf. To the service of Canada and of the Empire Lord Strathcona has brought a combination of great qualities as rare as they are valuable, and qualities particularly well suited to the needs of the times. He was High Commissioner for Canada from 1896 to 1911, when he resigned. On July 13, 1911, the honorary freedom of the city of Bath was conferred upon him. This honour has always been jealously guarded by the Bath civic authorities. He is Hon. LL.D. of Cambridge, Yale, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Toronto Universities. He was Lord Rector of Aberdeen University 1899, and Chancellor 1903, and created K.C.M.G. 1886. Lord Strathcona has held many other high and important offices both in Canada and in England, and still uses his talents and wealth for the good of others.

In Dufftown, Banffshire, in June 1829, a man was born who was also destined to greatly aid in the upbuilding of the Dominion of Canada, and whose fortune it has been to be numbered among the "successful men" of the country. I refer to Lord Mountstephen, who, going to the Dominion at the age of twenty-one, became in turn Director, Vice-President, and President of the Bank of Montreal, President of the St. Paul and Manitoba Railway, and the first President of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He takes his title from one of the highest peaks of the Canadian Rockies. First the peak was named after him, and when he was made a peer he renamed himself after the peak.

Sir John MacDonald (1815–1891), the late Canadian

Premier, is another Scotsman whose name will live as long as Canadian history exists—a great statesman who held the reins of government at the most critical period in the nation's welfare, and who by his sagacity, firmness, and diplomacy placed Canada—commercially and politically—under a debt of gratitude to him.

No one who has visited the Dominion can fail to notice the impress of the early Scottish settlers upon the life of the people, and the prosperity of the country. In the names of the towns one can trace the area over which the Scots have exercised their influence, from Nova Scotia to the Rockies, and from the Mackenzie River to the city of Guelph in Ontario. Somewhat slow, at first, it may be, to realise their Imperial obligation, they discharge that obligation with courage and vigour once they do realise it. Undoubtedly they form one of the binding ties of the Empire.

When we turn to consider the influence of Religion upon European civilisation, what proportion may be attributed to Scottish theological thought? It cannot be left out of the account; all the great civilisations of the world have been shaped more or less by religious feeling. "In the long warfare of the world," said Theodore Parker, "the saint conquers the warrior, and the prophet of religion triumphs over the statesman, though he have a kingdom at his back. Did not a carpenter's boy, born in Bethlehem, drive Jupiter Olympus out of the heathen world?" But theology is not the whole compass of thought, whether considered in its national or international aspect. Divines and religious assemblies are certainly among the forces that sway the world, though they take into account only one department of the life of the people. There are large and important strata of life that they do not touch.

The range of influence of other sciences is greater and more varied. They have to do with health, the relief of pain, the spread of learning, the discovery of races and of continents, the making and the administration of laws, with knowledge, and the dissemination of knowledge. What is accomplished in the scientific department is unconsciously and consciously inherited, and transmitted by one race, and one generation, to

another. Theological thoughts, religious sentiments, and convictions are not inherited, and where the exception is the case they are only inherited up to a certain age, and certain stages in life. Where the family life breaks up, and cities teem with mixed multitudes, the religious inheritance counts for little. In the first instance the Gospel message has nothing to do with society, but with the individual; with God's interest in the soul, and the interest of the soul in God. Conversion, the article by which the pulpit stands or falls, is receding in its importance, and becoming more difficult in its operation. It may be easy for eloquent divines to gather audiences, but when we judge them by the qualitative and quantitative criterion, how far have they contributed to the progress and the world-influences of Scotland?

To the progress of Scotland itself, as a separate entity, divines and theologians have contributed much. There have been no such religious battle-cries in Wales as in Scotland; no such strifes, and no such sacrifices. Of the Scottish clergy it may be said that, by their teaching and devotion, they have helped to mould the character of the nation. The Church of Scotland can boast of her martyrs. Out of her bosom came the Covenanters of the seventeenth century, men who faced persecution and suffered torture and death with a manliness that was divine. To them, Christ, as they understood Him, was dearer than life; the stake and the scaffold were less odious than the denial of the truths which Christ came to reveal. To their pastors the people repaired for advice and encouragement in times of danger, both to the Church and to the State. Thus the great heritage of the Reformation was preserved and its influence increased. Their noble qualities of courage, spirituality, and steadfastness to principle have been perpetuated by the more immediate heirs of the Scottish Reformation.

When we come to consider Scottish theological and religious thought as a world-force, how does it stand? In what manner, and to what extent, is it related to the general progress in Biblical knowledge and criticism, and the larger life of Europe and of Asia?

Alexander Cruden (1701–1770), or, as he styled himself,

"Alexander the Corrector," was a son of Aberdeen. He conceived the idea, at an early age, that he was especially designed by Providence to set the world right; he began his career as "Corrector" after having left Aberdeen, by reading proofs for a London printer. He published several books, but he is known to fame as the *Compiler of the Concordance of the Bible.* By this monumental work Cruden has placed Biblical students the world over under an obligation to him.

The Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair (1718–1800), the first clergyman who ever set up a carriage in Scotland, devised and constructed a most comprehensive scheme of Chronological Tables for recording, in their proper places, all important and far-reaching events. This work, a very serious and unusual production for an undergraduate, was afterwards elaborated by another hand, and given to the public as the once familiar *Chronological History of the World.* In later life he was so successful in his lectures on English composition before the University, that George III. and his Ministers erected and endowed for him a special chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres, making him Regius Professor thereof with a handsome salary and pension.

Dr. Chalmers (1780–1847) was one of the chief figures of the Disruption Movement—in fact, he may be described as virtually the founder of the Free Church. He was educated at St. Andrews, and in 1803 was ordained minister of Kilmany. As the result of a great spiritual change after he entered the ministry, Chalmers became attached to the evangelical party in the Church. In 1815 he was called to Glasgow, where he made his celebrated experiment in the relief of the poor, which he contended could be best secured not by compulsory assessment, but by the old Scottish plan of voluntary church-door collections administered by Church officials. He put his scheme into operation in Glasgow, and in four years he reduced the expenditure in poor relief in his own parish (St. John's) from £1400 to £280 per annum. In 1823 Chalmers was appointed to the chair of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews. Four years later he was transferred to the chair of Theology in Edinburgh, and in 1832 appeared his book on political

economy. The Disruption changed the current of his thoughts and activities. In building up the Free Church he displayed great organising ability—indeed, the success of the new ecclesiastical movement was largely due to his heroic exertions. The closing years of his life were spent by Chalmers as Principal of the Free Church College. He died suddenly on May 30, 1847. Chalmers was pre-eminently a many-sided man. Apart from his ecclesiastical labours, his great aim was to bring Christianity to bear upon all the problems of life; and it is not too much to say that by his work in astronomy and political economy he did much to reconcile science and religion, and to widen the scope of religious activity. As a writer Chalmers admittedly belongs to the first rank.

Thomas Guthrie (1803–1873), who was a contemporary of Chalmers, is another of the Scottish divines who was a leading figure in the Disruption Movement. "I never met," said he in his later days, "a minister who regretted his sacrifice in giving up all, though he found many to whom leaving the manse was the bitterest of all the Disruption experiences." Dr. Guthrie, besides being a great patriot and a great orator and preacher, was a practical philanthropist, a very apostle of social reform. He was the founder of the Edinburgh Original Ragged Schools, and by tongue, and pen, the apostle of the movement elsewhere. Scotsmen of to-day can hardly picture to themselves the conditions of things as they then existed; and he was the first to see the necessity of protecting the poorest and the most helpless from the injury of ignorance. Dr. Guthrie is worthy to take place in the very first rank of Scotsmen. He was one of the princes of the Scottish pulpit, a man of unblemished reputation, and one of the most distinguished citizens that ever gave service to Scotland. A statue of Dr. Guthrie has been erected in Princes Street Gardens, being the gift of the family to the city.

Dr. Norman Macleod (1812–1872) was appointed one of the Queen's Chaplains in 1854. He was a man of action rather than a student; he possessed great imaginative power, humour, and intense human sympathy. The greatest service which he rendered to popular literature was in his successful attempt at showing that there was nothing necessarily anti-

Christian in good literary work, though not professedly religious. The religious press, in his day, was narrow in its views and sadly lacking in literary style. But he thought that religion was a thing to permeate the whole of a man's life, and that it was most powerful when least ostentatiously displayed. He saw no reason why fiction, as well as physical and social science, should not minister to the advancement of man's highest well-being, provided both were dominated by a Christian spirit.

Horatius Bonar (1808–1889), the celebrated hymn-writer, and contemporary of Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Macleod, was a man of world-wide renown. He felt the lack of hymns suitable for use among the young, and it was in an effort—a successful effort—to supply that deficiency that he became famous.

Henry Drummond (1851–1897), who occupied the chair of Natural Science in the Free Church College of Glasgow, was one of the most influential Scotsmen of modern times. He was a man who travelled widely, and his books circulated as widely as he had travelled. Among his most important works, the most successful were *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and the *Ascent of Man*; among his pamphlet books are *The Greatest Thing in the World* and *Baxter's Second Innings.* These latter had an enormous circulation.

Archbishop Tait (1811–1882), one of the four who protested against Newman's tract, was a Scotsman. He succeeded Dr. Arnold of Rugby, 1842; became Dean of Carlisle, 1849; Bishop of London, 1856; and Primate of England, 1868.

There are few people who have taken greater interest in Mission work abroad than the Scots; distinct and lasting traces of their influence are found the world over. Its worth and promise are evident in Central Africa, India, China, British Central Africa, Nigeria, and South Africa.

Among the chief factors in determining the attitude of British Christians, and the attitude of the responsible rulers of the British Empire, in the nineteenth century, towards the indigenous and inferior races, were Moffat and Livingstone. To them, as much as to any, may be attributed the moulding of missionary thought and the creation of missionary zeal in

the breasts of Englishmen. There have always been more British missionaries than of any other nationality. We have now in the field nearly twice as many as America and Canada put together. Theirs number 3973; ours 6050. Germany comes a long way behind with 1250, and other nationalities supply 1651, making a total of 12,924, supplemented by 5273 native missionaries. The exalted standard set up by Moffat and Livingstone had much to do with the leading position of Britain in the mission field. The whole aspect of missionary effort has undergone a change since their time, but their memories remain an example and an inspiration. These two men had much in common; they hailed from the same land, laboured in the same land, and under the same Society; and were closely related through ties of sentiment and of marriage — Livingstone having married Moffat's daughter.

Moffat (1795–1883) was born at Ormiston, East Lothian. He carried through the press a version of the Gospel by Luke, and various elementary books in the Bechuana language; and during his visit to England, on June 12, 1839, he published his Bechuana version of the New Testament. In 1857 he completed the Bechuana version of the Scriptures, which was carried through the press at Kuruman. He published *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, in 1842. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Edinburgh on April 19, 1872. He travelled extensively in South Africa and established a mission in Matabeleland, receiving the personal consent of Moselekatse, the Chief of the Matabele.

Livingstone (1813–1873) was born at Blantyre, Lanarkshire, and sailed at the age of twenty-seven for Bechuanaland, December 8, 1840. In 1858 he published *The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, "by David and Charles Livingstone." The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow, December 1854, and in May 1855 the Queen's gold medal was awarded him by the Royal Geographical Society. The Universities' Mission was founded in 1860, in response to Livingstone's appeal in 1856; that Society has since taken a large share in the evangelisation of East Africa and Nyassaland. His scientific explorations in Africa are well

known. He was the determined enemy of the slave trade, and a protector of the natives against marauders. He taught the natives the rudiments of many European arts, and was instrumental in preventing acts of injustice, and in extending the cause of common humanity. In 1857 he published his *Missionary Travels and Researches*. He died at Ilala, Central Africa, May 1, 1873, and his remains having been brought to England, were buried in Westminster Abbey, April 18, 1874.

John and James Chalmers are men of missionary distinction, and among the most worthy representatives of the London Missionary Society. John was born near New Deer, Aberdeenshire. He did excellent work in China, and published *The Origin of the Chinese*; *The Speculations of the Old Philosopher*, 1868; *Pocket Dictionary of the Cantonese Dialect*, 1872; *The Concise Kang-Hi Chinese Dictionary*, 1877; *The Structure of the Chinese Characters*, 1882. James (1841–1901) was born at Ardrishaig, Argyllshire, and sailed for Raratonga in the *John Williams*, January 29, 1866; through accidents, shipwreck, and other difficulties, he did not arrive at his destination until May 20, 1867. He was also stationed at New Guinea, and opened several new stations west of Port Moresby, and travelled *via* Sydney to Samoa and Raratonga to obtain teachers to reinforce the New Guinea Mission. On August 19, 1895, the Town Council of the royal burgh of Inveraray conferred on him the freedom of the burgh, in recognition of the eminent service rendered by him to Christianity and civilisation. He published *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, 1877–1885, in conjunction with W. Wyatt Gill, B.A.; *Pioneering in New Guinea*, 1887; *Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea*, 1877–1894.

James Albert Wright Murray, who hailed from the Lowlands of Scotland, was born at Jedburgh, Roxburghshire, November 26, 1811. He sailed for Samoa, November 7, 1835, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. He accomplished work of a permanent character in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, Sydney, and in the island of Lifu. He commenced a new mission in New Guinea, where he selected and located teachers. He took an honourable share in the revision of the Samoan version of the Bible. He

published *Missions in Western Polynesia*, 1863; *Forty Years' Missionary Work in Polynesia and New Guinea*, 1876; *The Martyrs of Polynesia*, 1885; *Eminent Workers*, 1887; *The Bible in the Pacific*, 1888.

At Upolie, in Samoa, Dr. George Turner, a native of Irvine, Ayrshire, and upon whom the Glasgow University conferred the degree of LL.D. in 1861, did excellent work. Under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society he carried through the press an edition of 10,000 copies of the Samoan Bible; and also four volumes in the Samoan language. He also aided in the revision of the Samoan version with a view to a third edition, and undertook other literary work in the Samoan language. A further revision of the Samoan Bible having been completed, the Bible Society agreed to print a stereotyped edition of 10,000 copies under the editorship of Dr. Turner. He subsequently edited a third edition of the Samoan Bible, under the British and Foreign Bible Society; and had printed, by the Religious Tract Society, other two volumes of comments in the Samoan language—the one containing notes on the Book of Psalms, and the other on the Pastoral Epistles. He published *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, and *Samoa—A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*.

Dr. Samuel Macfarlane, of Johnstone, who laboured in the Loyalty Islands, was a man of vigour and initiative. From May 1864 until the middle of 1866, the Lifu Mission was subjected to serious interruption, owing to the oppressive action of the French authorities. A demand made by the French Government that Mr. Macfarlane be removed from the Loyalty Islands, led to correspondence between Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Directors of the London Missionary Society in 1867, and to further correspondence and to a deputation to the Earl of Clarendon in 1869. The French Government pressed their demand, and Mr. Macfarlane was appointed by the Directors to take part in the commencement of a mission in New Guinea. He completed the translation of the New Testament in the Lifu language, and assisted in the revision of the Lifu version of the New Testament and Psalms. In February 1887 the

degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the University of St. Andrews.

Among the Scotch missionaries who represented the London Missionary Society and who distinguished themselves in India, may be mentioned James Kennedy, a native of Aberfeldy, Perthshire; and Dr. John Hay, born at Stewartfield, near Aberdeen, who completed fifty years of missionary labour in India. In 1844 he established at Vizagapatam a central English and vernacular school. In 1846, besides doing educational and evangelistic work, he prepared a Telugu version of the Acts of the Apostles, to which he subsequently added versions of other portions of the New Testament. In 1853 he, assisted by other missionaries, passed through the press a new version of the Telugu New Testament. In 1855 he revised the Telugu Scriptures. A further revision of this new version having been completed, an edition of 1000 copies of the New Testament and 10,000 Gospels was carried through the press in 1856. He then turned his attention to the preparation of a new Telugu version of the Old Testament, a work on which he was chiefly occupied during his stay in England from 1869 to 1872. He completed the work after his return to India in July 1877.

Dr. John Smith Waldlaw, who was a native of Glasgow, devoted great attention to the work of Scripture translation, and to the higher department of Anglo-vernacular education in the Waldlaw Institution, which was opened August 28, 1846. It was established and carried on partly through funds contributed by friends at Great George Street Chapel, Glasgow. In 1855 he removed from Bellary to Vizagapatam in order to co-operate with Dr. John Hay in the revision of the Telugu Scriptures; and in connection with Dr. Hay he carried through the press an edition of the Revised Version of the New Testament, and an edition of the Gospels. In 1861 the Directors of the London Missionary Society resolved to establish an institution in which the students of the Society might spend the last year of their academical course in studies peculiar to missionary life and labour, and Dr. Waldlaw was, in 1863, invited to become its president. It was commenced at Highgate, and afterwards removed to

St. John's Wood. He conducted the institution until its termination in the year 1871.

The name of Dr. James Legge (1815–1897), of Huntly, Aberdeenshire, is honourably associated with mission work in Malacca and Hong-Kong. He arrived at Hong-Kong shortly after the opening of the ports of China, and took part in rendering the names of the Deity into Chinese, and had charge of the Anglo-Chinese theological seminary at Hong-Kong, which took the place of the Anglo-Chinese College founded at Malacca, 1818. In 1861 he published the first volume of the *Chinese Classics*, for which services the University of Aberdeen conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him in 1870; in 1876 he was appointed to the chair of Chinese at the University of Oxford; in 1880 he published his work on the religions of China.

James Cameron, a native of Little Dunkeld, Perthshire, laboured with success in Madagascar. Before leaving England he spent some months in Manchester preparing machinery for cotton manufacture in Madagascar, and aided in setting up the cotton machinery at Amparibé, in getting the printing-press into action, and in other public work both for the Mission and the Government. The continuation of the Mission from 1829 till 1835 was mainly due to the desire of the Government to retain the services of Mr. Cameron and those who assisted him. He aided in the erection of the Memorial Church at Ambatonakanga, and built the Children's Church at Faravohitra. He made a survey of a portion of the province, preparing a map of the same, and also of places on the road to Fianárantsoa in the Betsileo country.

The Rev. John Philip, D.D., was a Scotsman. He was ordained at Aberdeen, May 21, 1804, and appointed as a deputation, with the Rev. John Campbell, to visit the Society's stations in South Africa. He accompanied Robert Moffat and Mr. Evan Evans, a Welsh missionary, who was ordained at Bala, August 21, 1816, on a visit to the interior, leaving Cape Town, May 4, 1819. They visited the stations within the Colony, but the breaking out of a Kaffir war prevented them proceeding any farther. Mr. Philip received

the degree of D.D. from Princetown College, New Jersey, in 1820, and was appointed Superintendent of the Society's Mission in South Africa. He also undertook the pastorate of an English congregation at Cape Town. During his visit to England in the year 1826, he published his work, *Researches in South Africa.* In consequence of certain representations made by Dr. Philip respecting the condition of the Hottentots, the Directors of the London Missionary Society presented a memorial to the Government on the subject, which resulted in the establishment of certain regulations which would promote the amelioration of the civil condition of that tribe among the people. Shortly after his return to the Cape he was mulcted in £1200 damages by the Supreme Court at the Cape, in an action for libel brought against him in connection with the publication of his researches in South Africa. The money was generously subscribed by friends in England. On February 28, 1836, he left Cape Town with Mr. James Read, a missionary; Jan Tsatzoe, a Kaffir chief; and Andries Stoffles, a Hottentot, arriving in London, May 14. They gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee respecting the condition of the Aborigines in South Africa, and the causes of the Kaffir war. They sailed for South Africa, November 25, 1837. After his return, he undertook the education of several young men to prepare them for missionary work, and in 1850 he was appointed by the Directors of the London Missionary Society as their agent for transacting the general and financial business of the South African Mission. He died at Hankey, August 27, 1851, aged seventy-six.

Mungo Park (1771–1805), the African traveller. He was educated for the medical profession at Edinburgh. After tracing the course of the Gambia (1793–1795), he published his *Travels in the Interior of Africa.* In 1805 he accepted command of the Government expedition to the Niger, from which he never returned.

Of all the Scottish missionaries that have passed from the roll of living worthies to the record of the departed, none has a greater claim to distinction than Dr. John G. Paton (1824–

1907), missionary to the New Hebrides. He was a man richly endowed with every impulse that makes for character and for usefulness. Notable, indeed, was he for the individuality of his personality, his indefatigability, his unselfishness, his martyr-heroism, and the intensity of his spiritual enthusiasm. He was born on May 24, 1824, in a small cottage on the farm of Braehead, in the parish of Kirkmahoe. In 1858 he went as a missionary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to the cannibals of the New Hebrides.

He, together with his fellow-missionaries, made extraordinary progress in reducing the native speech, for the first time, to a written form—for the New Hebrides, then, had no literature and not even the rudiments of an alphabet. The worship of the people was one of slavish fear, and their whole life was practically spent in propitiating evil spirits; they had no idea of God, or of mercy, or of grace. Their contact with the white trader had deteriorated them, for they imbibed his profane language and copied his vicious habits. These evils, added to their own dishonesty, treachery, and prejudices, made them the most dangerous of human beings to deal with. Amid fever, treachery, and tragedies he laboured. He opened up many stations at the leading villages along the coast, appointing teachers over them, some of whom had once been cannibals.

At the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria in 1866, he was adopted—being officially transferred from the Church in Scotland—as the first missionary from the Presbyterian Church in Australia to the New Hebrides. It was decided by the other missionaries, and by the Committee, that he should not return to Tanna, the scene of his early labours, as they feared that no European life would be safe there. He was sent to Aniwa, the nearest island to Tanna, for which station he sailed on the 8th of August 1866, where he arrived in the month of November of the same year. For the next fifteen years Aniwa was the centre of his labours. He built a mission-house, and a large school in connection with the Mission, and made preparations for establishing schools in every village in the island. He also built a church and an orphanage, re-erected a printing-press and printed an Aniwan

hymn-book, a portion of Genesis in Aniwan, and a small book in Erromangan. His first communion service was held on Sunday, 21st October 1869. The conditions were exacting, only twenty being admitted to the roll, twelve of whom were baptized according to the Presbyterian usage. The island developed wonderfully under his influence, the back of heathenism was broken, industry increased, and a new social order was evolved.

Dr. Paton retired from Aniwa in 1892, and spent the latter part of his life at Melbourne, visiting and addressing the congregations and Sabbath Schools of the Presbyterian Churches in Australasia. He also visited Canada and the United States. During the thirty years that he laboured among the South Sea cannibals he exhibited a courage, a devotion, and a disinterestedness which is not excelled in all the annals of missionary enterprise. Dr. Paton died on 27th January 1907.

This cursory survey will give some idea of the waves of thought that have spread outward from the heart and brain of Scotland. In the light of these careers and characters we see what the land of Scott and of Burns, of Knox and of Clyde, has done for science, philosophy, and humanitarianism; men in whom grit, combativeness, culture, art, poetry, adaptability, and intellectual curiosity are seen at their best. They dominate every society into which they are introduced, and they stand out as mirrors, patterns, and instructors, not only to their own race and generation, but to all men in all lands. Such a prolific mother of genius as Scotland is, and has been, needs no advocate. She only needs an exponent. In Mr. Andrew Lang she has found an able and sympathetic historian, who has written appreciatively and brilliantly on the figures, the forces, and the movements that have contributed to the greatness of Scotland and to her enduring reputation. Mr. Hector Macpherson's work on the intellectual development of Scotland is of permanent value.

It is a just observation, and one that will bear criticism and investigation, namely, that Scotland, within the circle of the smaller nationalities, stands, in relation to the modern world, where Greece stood in relation to the ancient. Not intrinsically as great, for to be great in the days of Homer, and of

Hesiod, meant more than to be great in the days of Carlyle and of Hamilton. The Greeks had no ancestry, model, or instructors, except what came from the potentialities of their own brain; yet Greece had no equal and no rival. What perfection the Greek mind attained in art, literature, philosophy, or religion, it attained by the force of the genius which the race inherited at its birth. Ethics was then in its infancy, so was theology, so was psychology. Pindar flourished five hundred years before Christ. Scotland, on the other hand, has well-nigh two thousand years of the Christian era behind it. Before Knox there was Luther, and before Luther, Augustine. Scottish nationality, it is true, bears the imprints of days that are older than the Reformation. Moral and intellectual forces were at work in the Lowlands of Scotland before the revolt from Rome had become a fact, and before Western civilisation took a new departure under the influence of Calvin. But Scotland was in the zone of the new humanism, and felt the force of the wave of reform which had passed over the continent of Europe. Scotland had something—indeed much—to inspire it from without. The first stage in the historical evolution of the Scottish race is coincident, and coincident only, with the later and larger developments of the Reform movement in Germany and Geneva. A spirit of independent thinking had sprung up in Germany, Geneva was later on touched with the same spirit of movement, and Scotland in its turn was similarly affected. Thus it was that the spirit of religious and political freedom, born of the soil and mixed with the blood and the sinew of the people, found an artery of inspiration from without. There have been since, and especially in the century succeeding that of Knox, periods of temporary inertia and of intermittent retrogression, but the unswerving rectitude of Scottish nationalism and Scottish Protestantism is one of the outstanding features in the history of the nation. Knox with his associates and predecessors created an atmosphere of morals and of thought in which the Scottish people have lived and moved ever since, and which has made the offspring of the race desirable and helpful citizens in every land and every clime.

In Scotland it is noteworthy how the great epochs revolve

round great men: Wallace and Bruce stand for national independence as against English domination; Knox stands for religious independence as against Romanist domination; Melville and the Covenanters stand for Presbyterian independence as against Episcopal domination; and Chalmers and the Disruption stand for ecclesiastical independence as against Erastian domination. In literature, Scott and Burns stand for intellectual independence as against the classical poetic models of France and England.

"In every quarter of the globe," says Macaulay, "they rise above the mass of those with whom they mix, as surely as oil rises to the top of water; a people of such temper and self-government, that the wildest popular excesses recorded in their history partake of the gravity of judicial proceedings, and of the solemnity of religious rites; a people whose national and mutual attachment have passed into a proverb; a people whose high and fierce spirit (so forcibly described in the haughty motto which encircles their thistle) preserved their independence, during a struggle of centuries, from the encroachment of wealthier and more powerful neighbours—such a people cannot be long oppressed. Any government, however constituted, must respect their wishes and tremble at their discontents."

Indeed, wherever Scotsmen have gone,—and where have they not gone?—whatever department of human thought and activity they have touched,—and what department is there that they have not touched?—they have been an example of thrift, courage, intelligence, and endurance. As they have loved fiction and immortalised it, so they have loved and immortalised poetry; philosophy they have enriched, and the operations of science they have extended; to the cause of liberty they have brought a devotion as constant as it is intelligent; religion they have made the pride of the learned; for heresy they have shown no taste, and to integrity they have given the primary place in the foundation of national life; the value of veracity they have enhanced in every land where they have lived; scholarship they have reverenced, and they have been the most munificent patrons of letters; their historians have displayed a noble regard for the elements of

truth and morality; their political axiom has been government for the people and by the people; they have made the qualification of religion the supreme condition of national sovereignty; by the mere calibre of brain, grit, and honesty they have advanced to a supreme place in every part of the world. What is more, they have justified their success, and justified it on grounds that are as moral as they are solid—veracity and integrity, prudence and intelligence, loyalty to their kindred and to their motherland, and, above all, the fear of God, and fidelity to religion.

PART II

CONTEMPORARY WALES

CHAPTER I

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY

IT is difficult to write the psychology of a people without reference to one's own temperament. Indeed, it is claimed that every psychologist creates the collective soul, just in the same way as the individual creates his Deity—after the fashion of his own spirit. The complexity and multiplicity of a nation's aspirations are such that it is by no means easy, while surveying them, to embrace all without placing undue emphasis on those aspects of the nation's life which strike the writer's imagination most. This task is all the more difficult in the case of a people like the Welsh, who are now in the full force of evolution and transformation. No survey would be complete that did not embrace five things in the life of the people during the last twenty-five years—their pulpit, theology, poetry, music, and politics. With these I deal here and elsewhere. It is said that a people's psychology is to be found in their literature. The great bulk of Welsh literature is in the vernacular, and it explains, in a large measure, the reason why their ideals, customs, and idiosyncrasies are not more familiar to the English reading public.

In tracing the psychology of the people as it is manifested in their literature, what view of their virtues and deformities do we get? It is in the intellect that we find the dynamic forces of personality; in it are generated the active energies of the individual and of the nation; it is the basis of intensity. The greater the conceptions of the intellect, the more do they move the heart. The power of Christianity is in its thoughts and the intensity of its thoughts. It was the secret of the influence that Kossuth wielded when championing the cause of Hungary, and of Henry Berg when pleading for the dumb

animals. Thought is the father of emotions. Intensity of mind gives the heart greater depth and breadth. It is to the intellect we must go for the real forces of civilisation; it is the spring of inspirational forces. It has been stated that the Welsh intellect is destructive, more destructive than creative. There is undoubtedly this element in it, as history shows. There was a time when destructiveness was dominant, and aversion to constituted authority an active element in the life of the people; but it was largely a question of ambition. Did not the Roman ambition for power give rise to Roman rapacity? A nation's policy symbolises the nation's aspiration. Out of the conquests of England in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, there came the economic school of mercantilists which made the desire for wealth the supreme desire. Ambition shapes the operations of genius. Up to the fall of Llywelyn, and even to the insurrection of Owain Glyn Dwr, the Cymry knew no ambition but the ambition for independence. For that they lived, thought, and suffered; and in their efforts towards realisation, they allowed nothing to stand in their way. But when happiness through culture superimposed the idea of happiness through military conquest, the constructive side of the Welsh intellect began to manifest itself. With the Welsh renaissance of the Tudor period a new ambition took hold of the people; they began to think less of what their ancestors had been, and more of what they themselves were capable of becoming. The pen took the place of the sword. Memory began to blend itself with promising associations, and the idea of resistance receded more and more. If there is one aspect of the Welsh national consciousness which predominates over another at the present hour, it is the consciousness that the salvation of the race does not lie in a return to its primitive conditions and ambitions.

Even a cursory study of the bent and properties of the Welsh intellect shows that it is strikingly individualistic, and that its operations have been more sharply defined in the sphere of religion than in any other direction. It is both a matter of aptitude and of training; hence the stamp of seriousness and of morbid introspectiveness that it un-

mistakably bears. Religion, it has been contended, is a talent; and we can no more expect every nation to be religious than to be artistic, musical, or philosophic. It is true that some races have a greater religious capacity than others, and the Welsh race stands in that category. It seems eminently fitted for the reception and the expression of religious truths. There has been an abnormal development of the Welsh intellect on the side of religion, or rather the poetry of religion, with the result that its activities have been traditionally confined within very narrow limits. It has produced an intellectual parochialism which has contracted its sympathies and circumscribed its usefulness. It has not touched other intellects contagiously, and has had but few satellites to reflect it, and to reproduce its output in other lands and other tongues. Not that it is devoid of some aspects of a great intellect; indeed, it bears more traces of a great than of a fine intellect, chiefly owing to the want of cultivation. The Welsh intellect is endowed with pathos, humour, intensity, mysticism, and even sensitiveness. The perceptive faculty is another of its attributes, combined with high moral and spiritual apprehension; but it lacks the delicacy, the fineness of thought and elegance of expression, which come with education.

The excessive cultivation of one particular talent—notably the religious talent—to the neglect and disuse of other constituent elements, has resulted in a want of symmetry in the Welsh national intellect. What it has needed is the culture that comes through discipline, but it has been defective in discipline partly owing to the backward state of the Principality in material civilisation, and partly to the fact that it has been, primarily, under the influence of the emotive element. Not that emotion is bad in itself; when controlled by cultivated intelligence, and correlated with knowledge and experience, it is the very flame of Jehovah. What light is to the eye, sentiment is to the reason. In the region of physical truth, pure intellect alone is sufficient; and not only sufficient, but necessary, for the proper discernment of those qualities that are outside our self-consciousness. But in the realm of moral and social truth, the intellect is incapable of forming a judgment without the aid of emotion. The major part of man's

life is in the social and moral region, and it is here that the reason has found the largest scope for its operations. To the extent that the intelligence has been guided by the intuitions of feeling, its judgment has been sound and competent. There can be no purely intellectual judgment of justice, prudence, honour, or of love; there must be the colour which the emotion supplies. The Welshman has sentiment and has it in abundance, but he is more its slave than its master. He is swayed and even overborne by its impulses, and this fact does, in part, account for his embarrassment in dealing with the great world, and his want of that habitual success that stands to the credit of the steady-going Saxon. Welsh poetry is full of sentiment; still, it lacks the sanity, the patience, and the architectural quality without which no work of great and lasting merit in poetry and in music is possible. But though his sentiment is strong, his moral sentiment is weak. By moral sentiment I mean a feeling for the dignity, the exaltedness, and the imaginative worth of moral things; the sense that makes things right or wrong; that goes to the marrow of purity and integrity; hence it is that Welsh religiosity predominates over Welsh morality.

The religion of a people is not necessarily reflected in their morals, and there has been a marked divergence between the devotional and the moral sensitiveness of the Welsh people. There has also been a certain obtuseness on the side of veracity; a want of exact habit of mind both in stating and interpreting facts. It has not been the custom among the Welsh to apply thoroughly critical or scientific methods to the study of history. It is due partly to the long dearth of educational advantages for becoming acquainted with the canons of evidence; partly to the want of the scientific spirit; and partly to the prodigal use of the poetic side of the imagination, which is a strong Welsh characteristic. Imagination is not a mathematical quality, and an unrestrained use of it tends to distort the sense of proportion. Thus it is that the Welshman permits himself to do what his better nature, if properly cultivated, would never allow him to do. There is, however, a very wide space between this irregularity and what may be called inherent want of truth and of honesty. But the

fault, or the carelessness, whatever it may be in itself, is one that needs correction, both on account of what it may lead to, and the erroneous impression it may give to the superficial observer as to the real character of the people. The Welshman shares the quality which is a general characteristic of the Celts, namely, an abnormal disposition to respond to environment. He will sacrifice much for the sake of good-fellowship.

Another illustration of this contradiction in the blend of Welsh characteristics, and which makes the Welsh character, to a stranger, so difficult to understand, we find in the want of proportion between the poetic and the æsthetic sense. Very little that belongs to the beautiful do we find in common things either in the home or in the sanctuary. Not that the sentiment of beauty is absent—the Welsh have a strong sensibility to that which is beautiful and harmonious; but they are only just beginning to give it culture. Puritanism has dulled this artistic sense in the Welshman; but as he becomes released from that bondage—as he does more and more—this inborn love of the beautiful, and this innate gift of idealisation, are being brought into the region of practical and moral qualities.

In addition to the blight of Puritanism, the Welshman's poverty, scarcity of educational advantages, and lack of political power have kept him from the wider views of his neighbours. It is more his misfortune than his fault. The descriptive element is a highly active element in the finest forms of Welsh poetry, but there is very little architectural taste among the people. They lack the delicacy, the proportion, and the inventive powers which are the constituents of art. Belief in the beautiful as part of the good, or as an element tending in the direction of cultivation and of civilisation, is a fact that has only recently dawned on the Welsh mind. The less culture men and races have, the farther away they are from the admiration and cultivation of the beautiful. Savage tribes love glitter and show—a string of beads about the neck and something in the ear; but that is not the beautiful. As in physical nature beauty is a sign or signal of attainment, so in the great scheme of

evolution and human development, things tend towards their higher state when they tend towards the beautiful. But to the Welsh mind in the mass, beauty has had but little to do with developed perfection, or as a reality in the higher spiritual life. It has not been associated with goodness, with character, or with worship. The Welsh mind has been slow to conceive of beauty even as an attribute of divine excellence. All ecclesiastical architectural qualities, all elaborations of art, have been considered as accidental, decorative, and superfluous —even wasteful. Anything of a florid character in the form and expression of religious life has been deemed unnecessary. The Welshman has been converted on the side of religion, but he needs to be converted on the side of the beautiful as an expression of religion. To clothe the ethic with the æsthetic is a moral attribute. A noble feeling should look beautiful. Religion has to do not only with the good thing and the true thing, but with the good thing and the true thing as expressed in the beautiful. It is an indication of ripeness and maturity of mind, and the more cultivated the mind the more sensitive it is to the æsthetic side of life. The æsthetic is higher than the simply intellectual; the effects are more difficult to produce, and the intervals between the effects are longer and require more patient waiting.

Not only do we see the repressive influence of Puritanism on Welsh art, but on the Welsh temperament. The Welsh temperament since Puritan days is neuralgic; it nurses the melancholy side of life, and finds a dreamy happiness in sadness. Historically considered, even the fervour of Welsh devotion is of the downward and of the inward kind. Religion, the sovereign expression of joy and gladness, the most resplendent of all soul experiences, the Welshman has been wont to make morbid; he has associated it primarily with the sense of man's wretched imperfection. The religion of the great majority of Welshmen, even at this hour, is a morbidly introspective one. This is true of many Churchmen, as well as Nonconformists, for the spirit of Nonconformity has penetrated the Church. It is a very comforting religion, thanks to the doctrine of election misunderstood and misapplied to self. The Welsh temperament is not only

neuralgic, but impulsive, and on its political side turbulent and extravagant. It is apt to give itself without reservation to a passionate leader, especially if his leadership has a religious bias. This is a relic of the old hero-worship which has come down to the Welsh from their remote ancestors. It is not the temperament out of which States are established and enduring commonwealths founded, and it lies at the very root of the Cymric inability to grasp the power that has slipped away from their hands, and become the heritage of the Norman and the Teuton. The Welshman has the spirit of resistance, but combined with it is a submissiveness and a malleability that give him the appearance of slavishness and unreliability. His ignitable temperament invests him with an air of unmistakable earnestness, and his enthusiasm, when kindled, is boundless; but when confronted with overwhelming odds he gives way to a brooding listlessness. When he reacts he will not stop short of freezing-point, and as well might a spark be elicited from an icicle. Good-heartedness, which is a great Welsh quality, often amply compensates for the absence of other indispensable qualities. He is exceedingly indulgent towards certain kinds of moral delinquencies, while excessively severe towards others, equally grave. This happy-go-lucky element has been a source of weakness in the Welsh character, and has restricted its opportunities; it has incapacitated it for the science of negotiation and the skilful appliance of means to an end. The Welsh temperament is not conducive to the art of high diplomacy; it is too emotional and impulsive, and lacking in taciturnity.

But of all the unpromising features in the Welsh character, the one that seems to die the hardest is its self-centred disposition—the fixed habit of measuring themselves by themselves, and of comparing themselves with themselves. Moderation in generosity, and immoderation in self-admiration, are distinctive Welsh features. In the region of religion they are Christians *par excellence* on the globe. In education they are in advance of the rest of the world, their poetry is the best, their music the sweetest, and their national leaders the cleverest and most disinterested of all the patriots that ever

lived. Their country is the most interesting, the race the oldest and the bravest, its literature the richest, its scenery the most beautiful, and its civilisation the highest. A young and enthusiastic Welsh member of Parliament is reported to have said, in a speech delivered recently in England, that Wales was confessedly (?) the most religious land in the world. Such a statement excites nothing but ridicule outside Wales, and the thoughtful Welshman who knows Wales, and who knows anything of other lands and other nationalities, does not endorse it. What the typical Welshman wants to believe he believes with intensity, and what he does not want to believe he denounces with equal intensity. His belief and disbelief are more a matter of temperament than of sound reason or of calm reflection; hence his imperviousness to argument, and his extreme liability to take a difference of opinion as a personal offence. If Scotland—that prolific land of genius—boasted half as much of her theologians, statesmen, poets, and scientists as Wales does, she would be called conceited. This persistent glorification of Wales has become a national fault, and at times assumes very offensive proportions. It is the pathway to office and to political celebrity. What Wales needs at this hour is a man of the type of John Stuart Mill, who, when asked at a meeting composed of the working classes, during his Parliamentary candidature, whether he had written a passage in one of his books in which he stated that the working classes of England, though ashamed of lying, were generally liars, answered without hesitation and without apology, "I did." Strange to relate, this reply was received with a vehement burst of applause, and a working man got up and said that he felt under an obligation to any one who told them anything in themselves which he sincerely believed to require amendment. Even the men who have gained political ascendancy in Wales through the opportunities opened up for them by Nonconformity, and who have roused the worst passions of the people, neglect their duty to educate them. Welsh deformities are not things to boast about, and certainly not things to perpetuate. It would be just as sensible for a man to come in with the stump of an arm, and hold it up and say, "Other

folks are proud of two hands, but I thank God that I have only one." Wales has had more than enough eulogy of the Gladstonian kind, which simply fed the vanities of the people, but which gave them nothing by which the nation could benefit intellectually or spiritually. What the Welsh nation needs is a generation of intellectual criticism, frank, yet sympathetic; searching, yet constructive. There is plenty of fault-finding by men who are adroit in throwing mud, and who have a genius for selecting the most unfragrant qualities of that peculiarly unwholesome missile. Prejudices of race, education, and association should have no place in the building up of any community, but rather a spirit of appreciation for all who labour for a larger humanity among the people, and for the preservation of their spiritual imagination.

What are the features of the Welsh genius on the good or strong side? The most obvious feature is the literary. There are various talents—poetical, musical, and even mathematical; but the predominant capacity seems to be the capacity for the study of languages. Welsh intermediate schools are forcing the Welsh mind unduly into the region of science and mathematics, the two branches for which it is least fitted. In addition to literary aptitude may be mentioned the aptitude for philosophy, hospitality, love of liberty, religious fervour, the gift of moral ideas, political and moral instincts, partiality for the things of the mind, reverence for the dead, passion for knowledge in the abstract, for music as a medium of sentiment, and poetry as the expression of patriotic ideas. It has been claimed that patriotism is a compound of vanity and superstition, a bad kind of prejudice, which dies out with the growth of reason. If patriotism is a prejudice, then prejudice is not without its value, for patriotism may be counted among the best assets of the Welsh people. Welsh patriotism is a Welsh morality. It has been one of the main arteries of their inspiration, not only in their disordered, but in their later and better-regulated days. The intellectual and religious stimulants that came from without were few. The Welsh patriotism of this hour is mainly the result of forces, moral, social, and political, that are inherent in the Welsh nature. Out of it is coming its unity, as out of it came its

dismemberment, before the days of its disinheritance; and out of it has evolved its educational system, and its wider outlook.

In none of the smaller nationalities has the growth of reason been more apparent than in Wales during the last twenty-five years; and yet, coincident with the growth of reason is the growth of patriotism. It is a quality characteristic of the inhabitants of all mountainous countries—the Greeks, Pisidians, Iberians, Swiss, Scots, and the races of the Caucasus. It is due to a warm admiration of, and intense attachment to, the natural beauties of the scenes amongst which they have been reared and still dwell. This patriotism, home-sickness, superstition, or whatever name we wish to give it, is more highly developed among such people than among the inhabitants of tame and commonplace regions like the Netherlands, or the plains of Lombardy. Sir Walter Scott has told us how, under all circumstances, his mind reverted to the grey hills and the wild Border country in which he was born. "I like" (to quote his own words) "the very nakedness of the land; it has something bold and stern and solitary about it. When I have been for some time in the rich scenery about Edinburgh, which is like ornamented garden land, I begin to wish myself back again among my own honest grey hills; and if I did not see the heather at least once a year, I think I should die!" These bold and stirring words reflect with marvellous accuracy the Welsh mental condition. Matthew Arnold said that it is "sentiment that marks where the Celtic races really touch and are one." By sentiment he meant the capacity to take in and to feel impressions—sensitiveness to joy and to sorrow, to triumphs and defeats. It means that the Celt is soon up and soon down. But I would add another characteristic, namely, patriotism. If there is any one characteristic that distinguishes the Celtic people—one quality which they have in common, it is this.

The term "Celtic characteristics" is often heard, and often leads to a confusion of ideas. To the Welsh it is one thing, to the Scots another, and to the Irish something different from both. In the Celtic root or stock there are

diversities of gifts, but there is the same spirit,—the patriotic spirit,—love of fatherland, reverence for ancestors, respect for its literature, pride of race, and overshadowing desire for happiness along its own peculiar lines. The twin-forces that have kept the Welsh nation from reverting to a race of disorganised factions, without an ideal, and without collective life, are patriotism and religion. These are the ties that in the past have bound them together in the bonds of brotherhood and nationhood, though religion does not hold the same place as formerly as a factor in the unity of the nation. This, however, may be said of every nation.

These are among the finer elements that have been thrown into the Cambrian totality, the elements that form the characteristic virtues of the people—virtues which have been developed by heredity and cultivated by precept and example. Not that the nation, or the soul of the nation, still bears the same qualities in the same form or to the same degree as in former days. Collective qualities, like personal qualities, are transmittable; but they are transmitted with important variations. The process is very subtle, but very sure. It is true of all nations, and it is specially true of the Welsh. Some of the qualities, as I have already shown, disappeared for centuries, and are now reappearing in a modified, though in a more vigorous and enlightened, aspect. The old Cymric society was founded upon the principle of war, and of glory through military conquest. It was strife everywhere and always. It is now founded upon a combination of business aptitude with faithfulness to higher things—the cultivation of music, literature, and religion. This is progress in the right direction, and progress when judged from the highest standard of political science. For centuries the nation lived by instinct; now it is governed more by principle, and the better qualities are coming to the front. Their power illumines more and more in proportion as it is manifested in the corporate life of the community, and in the careers of those of her sons who are distinguishing themselves in the various branches of industry and of learning.

This process of change and assimilation is general in its character, and exhibits new physical, mental, and moral

characteristics. It is going on among the agriculturists and among the manufacturing and mining communities, and is due to the influence of industrialism, of food, of commerce, of education, and the general aspects of life which have redirected the association of ideas among the people. Such changes are by no means superficial and conventional, but real and, in some respects, permanent. I do not think it can be said that there is a total reversion in mind and in temperament, for the Welshman, under certain circumstances, will always show, more or less, the impetuosity which is so characteristic of his nature, and even his traditional dislike of constituted authority. But the troublesome special tendencies and the angularities of the Welshman are fast being toned down and modified. The Welsh soul is not to-day what it was yesterday, morally, intellectually, or materially. Its socialisation is unquestionable, and so is its generalisation. The cold reserve has in a large measure given way to a spirit of enterprise, and new qualities, the very opposite of the old, have manifested themselves. Not that the destiny of the Welsh nation is yet settled; it is now *in statu potentiæ*; its fate and the fate of its language will be decided in this generation. There is national glory in store for Wales, not probably as a Welsh Wales, but as an English Wales; but the people must look for it on the lines of self-improvement. As to the direction that civilisation will take, that depends largely upon social factors, ethnical principles, and international influences; much also will depend upon the nation's receptive and reproductive capacity, and, above all, upon its willingness to learn and to co-operate with the rest of the Empire. If Welsh nationalism is to be a means to an end, not an end in itself, a mere phantom of a thing, the Welsh must learn the art of self-criticism—the most difficult of all criticism. Whether Welsh nationalism will be a bane or a blessing depends upon the course which it takes. If it becomes arbitrary and unreasonable, the offspring of unintelligent emotionalism, demanding a Welshman simply because he is a Welshman, notwithstanding the fact that his qualifications may be inferior to those of an English competitor; if it seeks the country's glory, and the country's happiness, in any mad

Irish sense of severance in preference to an undeflected national life; if it is to be identified exclusively with politics, and withdrawn from everything which is not political,—then Wales will degenerate into a second Ireland. Indeed, we have already witnessed the withdrawal of some of the best spirits of the nation, in the pulpit and out of it, from Welsh politics, on this very ground. But if Welsh nationalism will seek for its object the fostering of art, literature, poetry, the aptitude for industry, and the emulation of everything in other nations that will tend to broaden the people's outlook, then this Welsh nationalism, that is undoubtedly the outcome of Welsh religious forces, will survive the insidious influences that are working their way into the body politic.

What are these influences? In what direction are we to look for them? First, the suppression of the individual thinker. In the earlier stages of the nation's life the individual thinker and individual reformer counted for much. No words can adequately express the debt which the Wales of the present owes to the self-denying and persistent labours of ministers (and the laymen who co-operated with them) in the dissemination of knowledge, the creation of a desire for higher things, the demand for greater educational facilities,—for schools and seminaries,—the formation of a public spirit, the cultivation of the patriotic sentiment, and in giving their contemporaries a consciousness of their own native instincts, identity, and worth. By their work and teaching, and the inspiration of their personality, they caused the body of the nation to take an onward step. Of all chapters in the history of the nation, there is none more interesting to the political scientist than the period when the scattered hopes of centuries took their first leap onward on a new and an organised scale. All efforts at reform in those days were highly individualistic. Life then was less complex than now, the sources of information more limited, and ideas fewer. The fewer the ideas, the greater the force and prominence of those who expressed them. Such, however, has been the enormous increase in the volume and power of the aggregate thought of

the people, that the individual thinker sinks into comparative insignificance.

Mental capacity is now the inheritance of the many, and the people are more jealous of any excellence, or of any inspiration, that is not directly derived from themselves. Democracy has but little sympathy with great intellects; it has no love for aristocracy, even when it is an attribute of individual excellence, and when that excellence is earned and perpetuated by knowledge, industry, and intelligence. Such is the ideal of democracy, or the travesty of genuine democracy, that is being preached at this hour. Democracy in the legislative form which it now takes tends to discourage, not only distinction, but thrift. It regards with aversion originality in the individual, and seeks to invest power and initiative in some organised authority. Such a type of democracy tends to repress a nation's vitality. The principle of Asiatic monarchism was, that the welfare of the individual should be subordinated to the will of the King. The Greek idea, that the State was everything, led to tyranny and oppression; and oppression when committed by the State or by many men together is no less an evil than when committed by men individually; the moral responsibility is the same. Acts have been committed by the community in the name of the community which, if committed by the individual, would have been treated as criminal. Unjust deeds—wicked deeds—are not less culpable because they are done for party or State reasons. No exigencies of politics can justify the oppression of the individual, or the abrogation of the rights of the minority. Men who may be tender and tolerant when they act alone, are apt to become harsh and intolerant when in combination. Parties will do things which no honourable man in that party would ever do alone. A nation is often worse than the individuals that compose it. The sophistry is this: that what is done is done from political or public considerations, as if that made a difference in the essential nature of right and wrong.

This is the direction in which Welsh political nationalism is moving. It denies the quality of patriotism to a Welshman who is a Churchman in religion and a Conservative in

politics. It welcomes his patronage and even uses his money, but excludes him from every real share in the credit which is due to him in his efforts for the upbuilding of the community. Popular judgment is not beyond error, and not beyond ignoble passion. One of the cardinal doctrines of Liberalism (and it is an excellent doctrine) is freedom of discussion. The discussive element is one of the main elements of progress: liberty in association is one of the landmarks of a well-organised society. Common freedom founded upon common interest is the basis of true scientific development. The unity of force, whether it be sectarian or political, is the unity of stupidity. Agreement on the ground of the submission of men's religious and scientific understanding to an order of men appointed to think for them, is a relic of mediævalism. Authority on the one side is non-independence on the other. There is no difference between the infallibility of a pope and the infallibility of the politician. This is the spirit that checked every aspiration after political freedom in Europe for four centuries, that burnt Savonarola in Italy, and John Huss in Bohemia, and deluged France with the blood of the Huguenots. There is hardly a crime known in history, any outrage upon honour and upon humanity, that cannot be traced to it. What would have become of liberty, or what would have become of patriotism, if this evil spirit had not been cleansed by the baptism of discussion and of blood? This is the blot on Welsh political nationalism—the submission of individual liberty of thought to the authority of an organised class of thinkers. The world, we are told, has passed beyond the stage of individual aspiration, to the stage of party or corporate responsibility; the individual must therefore, for the sake of the collective good, hold his own interests and aspirations in check. But there is no despotism so despotic as the despotism of the public sentiment of the greater community.

The same tendency is manifesting itself in the realm of religion and theology. I would rather have toleration without religion than religion without toleration. Arrogance in a

sect is quite as pernicious as arrogance in a hierarch. To impose our dogma upon others because we have the opportunity is to forswear the principle of toleration, and to give the charter of tyranny to power. Sectarianism, whether in Nonconformity or in Anglicanism, is both a nuisance and an evil. Charitable churchmanship in Wales is a thing of recent growth, and Nonconformist charity is fast getting out of vogue. Men should not be considered as ecclesiastical or religious outlaws because they cannot subscribe to all details. Religion is wider than theological doctrine; it is greater than any particular form of it, and all statements of truth are only approximate. Creed is largely a matter of temperament, and Christianity does not belong to a sect as a sect. Practical religion is one thing; religious doctrine another. When we go back in history and see what creed, when misapplied, has taken upon itself to do, we find no record so unpalatable, unless it be the record of justice. Wounded wolves go back only to find their fellows turn on them; and with brutal feelings magistrates, ecclesiastical authorities, and civilians have been driving home justice. Not the least duty of humanity was observed in the treatment of the wrong-doer. The history of justice as administered in human society is more outrageous than the sins, or crimes, which it sought to punish. What is true in the history of justice is true in the history of creed. Not that creed in itself is an evil: the creeds of the Church have saved (*a*) the New Testament, (*b*) the Catholic Church, (*c*) orthodox Nonconformity. Creeds, when properly applied, produce, as they were intended to produce, practical religion. The human mind has always shown a disposition to formulate its intellectual beliefs, to give them form, proportion, and emphasis. To think is to have an opinion; and opinion becomes systematised in a philosophical form. But to make the presentation of the Gospel on certain doctrinal and theological lines the supreme test of character, or the right to preach, is to invert the divine significance of religion. One demerit of doctrinal preaching is, not that it is wrong or unnecessary to preach doctrine, but that men insist that it should be

preached *only doctrinally*, while failing to resolve the principle of it into concrete experiences. The genius of religion is not in its doctrine, but in its vitality, and the practical value of a Church lies not in its theological tenets, but in the opportunity it affords for each member to benefit by the sympathy of his brethren. Whatever view of truth makes a man tender, elevates and amplifies his nature, must be orthodox; whatever view of truth makes him hard, tyrannical, and circumscribed in his benignities and idealities, must be heterodox. The spread of the Kingdom of God is not the thing that materialising theologians think. It is not mere intellectual submission to certain views formulated for us by men of another age, who differed in temperament, in character, and in aspirations from ourselves. Creed has been, and may be, an instrument of instruction, and a source of strength and comfort to the soul; that is its function. But when creed becomes malignant, and makes use of itself to disbelieve in the goodness of others, it is an error and an evil.

Welsh Nonconformity has no definite or binding creed except in certain Trust Deeds. It stands for the right of private judgment: this is the Protestant faith. But right, surely, involves fitness. By fitness I do not mean moral fitness, God forbid! What I wish to convey is, that there can be no fitness where there is no knowledge, no mental discipline, and no cultivated intelligence. The self-constituted custodians of Welsh Nonconformist orthodoxy are the men who have neither the opportunity nor the aptitude for inquiry at first hand. They are not technically educated, and their mental outlook is highly traditional and circumscribed. Many of them are in a small way of business, who know a great deal more about tea than they do about theology. No one doubts their earnestness, and certainly no one could doubt their courage, for they will tell an educated minister that he is wrong, and the more highly he is educated the greater the probability that he will be wrong. They penalise those who dare preach that side of the truth for which they have no affinity. They are orthodox,—super-orthodox; they even cultivate

passions that are antagonistic to the perception, and the acceptance, of certain aspects of the truth. But the same truth can take on a multitude of different forms, and some natures are more competent to judge one truth than another.

Second, the growing discord between the teaching of the Welsh pulpit and that of the University. The nation sends her children to the colleges, where they are taught to respect reason, and where all the text-books are based on the new learning; then on the Sabbath she invites them to the Sunday school, where much of what is taught relates to another age, and another environment. Books, catechisms, and commentaries a hundred years old are frequently consulted and studied. Men who are preparing themselves for the ministry, and whose minds have been imbued with the teachings of Harnack, Driver, and Hatch, and the later researches of science, are constrained to swear allegiance to an antiquated theology. It may be stated, and stated with accuracy and emphasis, that the majority of Welsh Nonconformist preachers of this day do not preach all they believe; partly from fear, and partly from prudential considerations. Besides the influence of the Universities, there is the influence exercised by English newspapers, magazines, books, periodicals, novels, and works on progressive theology, which are being extensively circulated throughout the Principality. The City Temple theology is not without its sponsors and effect. Intermediate schools and colleges are turning out men and women full of dynamic forces, and who are determined to realise the most genuine meaning of life; determined to free themselves from littleness and angularity; determined to reach out, and to draw in, and to draw in from every source whence cometh light and knowledge. They want the diet of dogma served differently; rightly or wrongly, the old-fashioned catering of metaphysical systems has ceased to attract them. Cunning adroitness in theological sophistry does not appeal, either to their temperament or intelligence. Speaking *ex cathedra* is continually becoming less forcible.

Until recently Wales boasted that it had not an infidel book or pamphlet in the vernacular. The term "infidel" was

applied to the slightest deviation from the recognised Puritan theology regarding the Deity, the Person of Christ, plenary inspiration, the literal interpretation of the Bible, the creation of man, the mechanical theory of the world, miracles, prayer, the laws of nature, and substitutionary atonement. But now new forms of faith have their champions in the Welsh press. Many of the old ideas of heaven, hell, and salvation have been riddled by the process of time, and their glory dimmed. Evolution is studied; the Mansfield men are busy reading German exegeses, some educated laymen are familiarising themselves with the newest kind of literature bearing upon theological problems; the new collegiate system of education is fast revolutionising the national mind; but the sorrowful fact is, that not a single denomination has made any organised or substantial effort, either literary or theological, to deal with the new aspect of things. To provide chapels for accommodating the population that there is, and a large margin for the population that may be, should not cover the whole duty of Welsh religious leaders. Multiplicity of chapels or churches is not necessarily a sign of progress. Biblical knowledge is still largely being conveyed to Welsh children on the old lines; what light they get, as they grow up, of the new order of things, they get from outside sources. Hence the deplorable truth, which every honest student of Wales recognises, that the majority of those who come out of the University Colleges are losing sympathy with, and intellectual respect for, the Welsh pulpit. The process will go on for years until the people will get hungry of heart; then another revivalist will appear. He will, probably, be the most unfitted for the work; but the people will accept and follow him, for the simple reason that he will supply the thing they need.

Third, the repressive influence of Puritanism. I have already stated how the drama, as an art, is a thing repugnant to the religious instincts of the Welshman, except in the form of dialogues (no matter how dramatic their presentation) performed in chapel and schoolroom by church members and choristers. Puritanism, which was imported from England in the seventeenth century, has persistently refused to include the

drama, or even the dramatic instinct, among the elements of true culture. "See what the stage is,—bad, corrupt, and immoral"; that is the argument. It is, they contend, essentially and inseparably associated with evil; it depends upon evil for its prosperity. That the stage stands in need of reform, there is and can be no doubt or difference of opinion. But is there no room for reform in every profession? Are there no dishonest lawyers,—no medical men who abuse their privileges,—no incompetent ministers,—no bad books? We do not discontinue to write literature, or to patronise it, because publishers issue productions that are unfit to read, and have a degrading effect on the mind and temper of the nation. Why then should we say the dramatic instinct is an immoral instinct because there are immoral dramatists? To say that the stage is abused is no argument against its inherent and potential value. Many things right and good in themselves are abused. The dramatic instinct is a natural instinct—it is a noble instinct. The noblest geniuses in days ancient and modern have been consecrated to it, such as Shakespeare, Garrick, Victor Hugo, Tennyson, Irving, and others. There have been noble actresses like Siddons and Terry, and noble tragedies like *Hamlet*, and blameless comedies like *Paul Pry*. When I speak of the drama, I do not mean the drama that runs to morbid, sneaking forms of vice, to debauchery, and unwholesome melodrama, but the higher form of drama, as a wholesome centre of recreation, culture, and teaching—the drama as it stands for all that is deep and tender in man, and all that is radiant and pure in woman; as the exponent of love and of honour, and the denunciator of falsehood and of injustice—the drama that speaks the language of a wider and more universal humanity, that seeks to break down the hard-and-fast line drawn by ascetic devotion between the Church and the world. The actor is a representative person who goes through all the passionate scenes, not for himself, but for his audience. The character which he represents may be disagreeable, not that he himself is necessarily disagreeable. He deals with the universal instincts of the human race. In all the weeping and the laughing, the honour and dishonour, the actor brings us face to face with our own inner life. That is

the function of the drama. But there is more; it widens our horizon, weans us from the grosser pursuits of life, shows us what we are, and what we might have been, and, as one writer said, "He whom no pulpit shaft can slay, lies prostrate by the sling and the stone of the stage."

What is true of the drama is also true of organised recreation. There has been a complete severance between the Welsh aspect of Puritanism and this phase of life. By recreation I mean systematic bodily and mental relaxation. Human nature must be taken into account; it will amuse itself. To go into a Christian experience means to go into joy, not necessarily the joy of the mystic or the high hidden joy of supreme faith, but any joy by which a man may legitimately be made happier. The Christian has a right to enjoy everything that is becoming in a man or citizen. He has a right to wit, to mirth, and to every pleasure that has an element of social or moral excellence in it. True, as we rise into the higher realm of experiences, pleasure will be less and less derived from the ordinary sources of life; but to constantly hurl the epithet "Thou shalt not" at Christian people is not a sign of wisdom. I do not believe in the conversion of the world simply and solely by preaching. This does not signify that men should have the chief happiness of their lives clustered around amusements. There is much of what is coarse and even brutal in the habits of conviviality that prevail among the people; but if we discarded every man on the ground that there was something in him we did not like, we would soon find ourselves without any companions or friends at all. There is a proportion of good in every man, and the genius of religion is to lay hold of the good that is in him, and make it better. As with the individual, so with society. The best way to elevate the masses is not to abuse them for their indiscretions, but to teach them a wise selection of times, seasons, and sentiments, and thereby disseminate the elements that make for moral good.

Ministers of religion have assumed and even paraded their assumption, that they exist only to teach people how to pray, and how to cultivate their spiritual instincts, having no lot or part in organising or controlling the current

business and amusements of the world. Whenever they were confronted with the question of conduct, they dealt with it in the abstract. It cannot be denied that clerical as well as medical speciality has its function and its sphere. Some are gifted with the powers of speech, others are strong in administration; but as there are all-round doctors, there is no reason why there should not be all-round ministers. Medical specialists are often accused of so concentrating their attention upon one organ or one department of bodily functions, as to lose sight of the relation of that one organ to the whole man; and it is generally the case that ministers of religion confine themselves exclusively to what they call spiritual things. They have endeavoured to reform the world by leaving it to itself, and ignoring the measure of good it possesses. True, some of these problems are not peculiar to Wales, but they *are* Welsh problems nevertheless, and, comparatively, recent problems. It is much easier to let a thing severely alone, or to cut it off altogether, than to deal with it. Time was when the clergy went their way with their processions, confessionals, orders of service, and their one-sided, consecrated ideals; and the world went its own way with its business and pleasures, its dancing and its dissipation. There was a time when the clergy could shelter themselves behind ecclesiastical celebrations and the parade of Church societies; but in this material and utilitarian age, priestly or ministerial pretensions count for nothing. The questions that agitate the mind and heart of the world to-day are: "What is he doing?" "What civil and moral force does he exercise?" "What proof does he give of his earnestness?" Cant phrases are nothing; actions are everything. The world to-day is not satisfied with mere mysticism; what it craves for is intense practicalism. The modern hero is not Madame Guyon, but Clara Barton and Florence Nightingale. Its symbol is less the golden cross flying on the spire of a building, than the red cross glowing over the heart. The present age demands a development on the side of the practical. The pulpit that loses itself in clouds of philosophic dreaming is a lost pulpit, for the world is becoming more and more intuitive, and less and less inductive.

Fourth, domesticity. For centuries the Welsh nation has been like a wax candle in a solitary room, spending its whole life in burning itself out; consuming the wick of its life, and throwing its light out on nobody—a light to itself. That was all. This long life of social and intellectual detachment has cost the nation dearly; it has cost it a larger circle of ideas to draw upon, and an earlier national maturity. Association touches the reason, the social affection, and the moral sense. As the human mind is cultivated it becomes more and more sensitive to association. China is emerging out of her long-continued lethargy in proportion as she absorbs the elements of Western civilisation. The rise and progress of Japan may be attributed to the same kind of influence. We cannot, of course, ignore the internal element—the potential capacity of the people. That the Welsh nation possesses the sources of well-being, and the attributes that make for progress, its history during the last twenty-five years clearly shows. Welsh university life is only thirty-five years old; and it may be assumed that it has not yet spoken its last word, nor uttered its last thought. The ability of a people in any given direction is not necessarily proportioned to their instruction; but instruction augments the power of ability. Instruction has to do with manhood; it sends it up many grades. Instruction brings knowledge; and knowledge is power. The value of school or university life does not lie merely in the fact that there are masters and professors who teach, but that there are scholars who teach each other,—who quicken each other's ambitions, and rub off each other's angularities. The school gives intelligence, it gives the atmosphere of intelligence and the sentiment of intelligence; but it gives more, it gives the enthusiasm that comes from association.

There is much in the coming together of divers spirits, for culture is a matter of association quite as much as a matter of intelligence. Association gives the instrument by which to resist the warpings and the bias of undue selfishness and interest. It inspires indolence with activity and enterprise; it tends to soothe, to soften, and to reconcile conflicting interests. It is not ability that the Welsh people need: there

is plenty of this raw material in the land. What the nation needs is the associative mood—"education by collision," as Carlyle said. Not that I believe the demands of the general intellect, or the claims made by the spirit of any given age, should be permitted to completely overshadow the sacred traditions of a people, or to rob the individual of his characteristics; true education consists in a combination of both. Herein lies the secret of whatever degree of greatness or of power there may be within the reach of the Welsh nation. Its environment will always be limited; but if the Welsh nation is to be more effectual in politics, poetry, science, literature, and philosophy, it must seek a larger environment, and not only a larger, but a *different* environment. It is a notable fact that the average Welshman who seems to be of very little account at home, develops when he goes abroad the most extraordinary qualities of industry and organisation, especially the latter.

The tribes that reached the highest state of material development in Greece were those that were most susceptible to foreign influence. Even a species confined to itself will degenerate. Superior results in the animal world are produced by what is known as cross-breeding. Hereditary tendencies are influenced and modified by contact. Not that the English, the Scots, and other nationalities are without their defects, social and intellectual, and that association has its bad as well as its good side. Greece gave Rome her poetry and her philosophy, and taught her how to read and write; but Greece gave her also her sophistry and her moral insincerity. But the predominance of what is weak over what is strong is the exception and not the rule; otherwise, we might despair of all true progress. Milton, it is said, owed much to his acquaintance with Italy and her literary writers; and even Shakespeare, we are told, borrowed largely from early British sources, and from personal acquaintance with foreign countries. Voltaire borrowed from Shakespeare. England gave America her learning, and Germany is imparting her scientific genius to England and to the rest of the world. If Wales is to count for anything among the nations, she must adopt the best elements that are in other nations,

and add them to her own native genius. She must counterbalance her own deficiencies by an exchange of ideas, customs, and ambitions. No nation, however talented, can attain to the full measure of its power by an isolated existence.

If the Welsh want to secure a better heredity for the incoming generations, they must seek not only for higher material advantages, but seek also to improve the breed or the race. Merely to reproduce the type as it stands, is to reproduce its defects as well as its excellences. This can come through the process of intermingling of habits, ideas, and blood. Greatness comes by association. It is with nations as it is with individuals; and it is with men as with animals. Fire left to itself burns itself out. To preserve the vigour of vital forces, it is necessary to excite and restore them by submitting them to the action of other forces. There is no such thing as a pure race, a pure language, or a pure blood. If any race is deemed pure from all mixture, it is simply because we are unable to disentangle its constituent elements. As civilisation advances, the intermingling of blood and of races will become more common. As to its value, we need only point to the fact that much of the progress of England, America, and Europe is due to mixed types. Edgar Allan Poe, Whitman, Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Lowell, and Longfellow are descendants of mixed families. Edison also, it is affirmed, belongs to the same class. In the veins of Ibsen there was a mixture of Scottish and Norwegian blood. The ancestors of Grieg, the great Norwegian composer, came from Scotland, the original name being Greig, a well-known name in Aberdeenshire. Victor Hugo was a man of mixed blood; so were Tennyson and Millais. History teems with examples of the fact that the renewing of blood nearly always gives the best results. The superior type ameliorates the lower. America is the supreme test in modern life. Under normal conditions, inferior types improve without degenerating the superior. This is the great central fact in the progress of humanity. The Welsh nation has lived too long on the reserve of its own intellect and blood. It has fed itself too much on its own social prejudices, and intermarried into their own virtues, defects, and vices.

What the Welsh need, and what they must have, is the commingling with other peoples and races, the renewing of their blood by additions from the outside; a sympathetic change that will link them to other nationalities, to whom they can give the virtues that they have, and with whom they can share the virtues they have not.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SURVEY

OF all the nationalities that are included in this work, Wales is the smallest, and geographically the most insignificant. It covers an area of 7378 square miles, its greatest length from north to south is 135 miles, and its breadth from east to west is 95 miles. At no period in its history has it been populous. Several statisticians have from time to time given us various estimates covering different periods, but no trustworthy information as regards the number of population was obtainable until 1801, when it was given as 587,000. At the time of the Conquest it appears to have been 150,000, and, in comparison with that of England and Wales, proportionately smaller than it is to-day. In the census of 1901 the population of Wales, including Monmouthshire, was given as 1,720,533, the largest apparently in its history.

According to the census of 1911, the population of Wales, including Monmouthshire, is no less than 2,032,193, which shows an increase, in the course of a decade, of 311,660. The census of 1881 shows a population of 1,360,438; the increase in thirty years has thus been 671,755. In four of the counties there have been large decreases; these are purely agricultural counties. The bulk of the increase is confined to Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. The latter has a population fourteen times as large as that of a century ago, and, if the increase continues at the present rate, it is reasonable to expect that in a hundred years hence Glamorganshire alone will have a population of 2,000,000. It is the richest, busiest, and most enterprising county in Wales. The following table represents the returns

of the different counties, + marking the increase, and − the decrease.

	1901.	1911.	Variation, per cent.
Anglesey	50,606	50,943	+ 0·67
Breconshire	54,213	59,298	+ 9·38
Cardiganshire	61,078	59,877	− 1·97
Carmarthenshire	135,328	160,430	+ 18·55
Carnarvonshire	125,649	125,049	− 0·48
Denbighshire	131,582	144,796	+ 10·04
Flintshire	81,485	92,720	+ 13·79
Glamorganshire	531,833	743,110	+ 39·73
Merionethshire	48,852	45,573	− 6·71
Monmouthshire	230,806	312,078	+ 35·21
Montgomeryshire	54,901	53,147	− 3·19
Pembrokeshire	87,894	89,956	+ 2·35
Radnorshire	23,281	22,589	− 2·97

But though Wales is the smallest in this catalogue of nations, it is highly interesting, not only to the specialists—those who have a close affinity with its language and antiquities—but also to the critic, historian, sociologist, and statesman. Interest in it, and even admiration for it, increases rather than diminishes as time goes on. After long years of obscurity Wales finds itself a not inconsiderable factor in the life of the British Empire. Behind all its recent material and educational development, there is an extraordinary racial psychology, which is fast making Wales one of the social laboratories of the kingdom. Politically the people are intensely radical; theologically and religiously they are intensely conservative; the Principality has been the home of the most repressive type of Puritanism, yet it is fast becoming the most fertile ground for a swarming and militant native Socialism, and a Socialism which is rapidly penetrating even the doctrinaire Liberalism of the middle-class intellectuals; a complete duality of language and of spirit enters the political and social composition of Welsh society, and every aspect almost of the thought and activity of the people reflects these twin-elements, either in conflict or in harmony; an increasing number of the people assimilate and reconcile

within themselves both the Welsh and the Saxon spirit, and to this may be attributed, in a large measure, the singular mental vitality of the Welsh of to-day. In spite of centuries of denationalising influences the people have maintained their distinctiveness in blood, in culture, in religion, and in national consciousness. Judged by the test of race, language, history, literature, social and political aspirations, the Welsh are as much entitled to be deemed a nation as the people of Scotland or Ireland. Through all their changing fortunes, the Welsh have never, since the Roman legions left this island, lost the consciousness of a national identity.

Outside the circle of the Great Powers, Wales is one of the most intelligent and prosperous communities; small in area, yet in the southern parts relatively dense in population. The people do not remain in disposition or ambitions as their ancestors were in mediæval times, or in the days when their fighting fame sounded throughout England; but they are still full of the spirit of political independence. The old Celtic dislike of constituted authority has been very much in evidence of late years among a certain class of Welshmen; it has become very articulate in some parts of North Wales, where there is a growing Republican sentiment, and even a cynical indifference to Imperial interests. It is more real than apparent. But the body of the nation is essentially and unmistakably loyal to the Throne and to the Union. Ireland has not maintained and developed a more marked or vigorous native individuality; yet, while Ireland continues to be a pistol pointed at the head of England, Wales, though she has received far less legislative justice than Ireland, pursues a policy of peace, and is manifesting every evidence of proving a valuable addition to the territories of the United Kingdom. Nothing but the fact that its economic, educational, and literary, as well as its political activity, is out of all proportion to its extent or population, could have won for Wales the recognition which it is receiving. The best type of Englishmen are realising how deeply they must always be concerned in the educational and political fortunes of Wales; it is well that it should be so, for they have an identity of interest, and good political relations are more important

to-day than at any previous epoch. Without Wales, English history, and even the history of European letters, would have lost some of its most picturesque pages.

Unfortunately, its memory has been encumbered by clouds of superstitious exaggerations. On the one hand, we hear of Edward I. and his "love of good faith and justice," and of his favourite maxim, *Pactum serva*, "Keep your promise," and of the duplicity and treason of the ancient Welsh. This is part of the nonsense that goes to make up the bundle of historical ideas and theories, relating to Wales and the Welsh, in Charles Oman's *History of England*, and in the productions of other Englishmen of letters more or less known to fame. On the other hand, we read of the fraud and rapacity of the Saxon, the ancient glory and greatness of the Cymric race, when they held the crown of Britain, and their illustrious line of kings, with their vast dominions, both in Britain and on the Continent. We read of the valorous deeds of the old princes far back in the distant centuries, even to the Flood and beyond. It is always an ungracious task to destroy pleasing illusions, but it becomes an imperative duty when history is falsely or too favourably interpreted, in order to fit in with the prejudices and predilections of those who are engaged in summarising and representing the doings and movements of a nation. Welsh barbaric ancestors were just like other barbarians; the old Welsh saints were only Christian missionaries of their times—nothing more; Welsh princes were just like the other rulers of Western Europe in the Middle Ages, and the old flame-bearing Welsh bards were quite as human as one would expect them to be under the circumstances. Welshmen who have written on Welsh subjects have possessed the sympathy, but have lacked the detachment, that is necessary; while English historians, having the detachment, have lacked the sympathy. It is to be regretted that Welsh history, especially the modern side of it, is so imbued with the spirit of partisanship. In the region of religion we find a fierce historical antagonism towards the Anglican Church, on account of its supposed obstructive influence upon the religious and purely human aspect of Welsh development. It has lately been announced that the means

have been found for the production of a "scientific" history of Wales. All honour to Lord Howard de Walden for this great and generous act of service to the Welsh people. "Scientific" historians, however, are not coined; they are born. Money cannot invest a writer with the temperament and the historical qualities that are necessary in a work of this kind.

No one has yet been able to do for Wales what Scott did for Scotland; and no one can, even with the wealth of Crœsus at his back, if he has not Scott's capabilities. Much has been written and said in this connection, concerning what English historians have "casually and scornfully thrown at Wales as her history." But to educated Englishmen, the science of history has had, and still has, a peculiar fascination; and it has been a matter of sincere regret to them that, while they have found it comparatively easy to gain a comprehensive knowledge of the history of ancient Greece or of Rome, it has been impossible to learn anything authentic of the annals of the earliest British people. To assume that enlightened English historians have no desire to know and to write the truth, is an unworthy assumption. English historians have had to rely upon the material which they have found in foreign sources. Since the Golden Age of Elizabeth there has not appeared a single Welsh historian of the standing of Gardiner, or a romancist like Scott, with ability, patriotism, and enthusiasm enough for the task of giving the world faithful pictures of Wales; and there is not one in view. Wales herself has been wanting in the fact that she has not produced a Welshman who could remove the bar which the English language constitutes to a proper understanding of the reason for the continued existence of the race, and its renaissance as a force of the Empire. The Welsh system of higher education has contributed nothing to this department of science. Even the professors of the Welsh National Colleges have left to others the spade-work of inquiry into Welsh origins and history. It is a reproach that rests on the Welsh University as a whole. Indeed, some of the men who have worked most sympathetically in order to get at the facts of early Welsh history, are not Welshmen at all, but Englishmen and professors in

English Universities. To compile a history of England to-day, if no more had been done in that direction during the past three hundred years than has been done in the case of the history of Wales, would be an almost impossible task; but since English literature emerged from the thraldom of the priestly Latin into the freedom of the vulgar tongue, every generation has had its men of letters who have left some contribution to the volume of history. During all these years the output of Welsh scholarship towards the historical record of Wales has been practically nil, a neglect which has increased a hundredfold the difficulty now to be encountered. A *History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* was published a few months ago, which in all probability will rank as a standard work for the period which it covers. However, Welsh history is in a highly chaotic state; so intricate and even contradictory are the facts and conclusions connected with Welsh origins and early history that we are as far off from *finality* as ever. To test Welsh genealogies is to prove their general untrustworthiness. In the popular mind Welsh history exists as an unconnected series of isolated and fragmentary events. The average Welshman is content with possessing a dim conception of a few heroes and events in the distant past. Of the history of Welsh facts he knows but little, and of the history of Welsh ideas, which is far more vital and durable, he knows less. The scientific method of writing and reading history is unknown among the Welsh. There is enough of gushing talk about Cymric genius and Cymric glamour, and melancholy strivings after effect. Much has been attempted of late by Sir John Rhys of Oxford, Sir David Brynmor Jones, Bart., M.P., and Professor J. E. Lloyd of Bangor, to disengage Cymric history from the exaggerations and the immense superstructure that has been built on such a small basis of fact. One peculiar merit of their productions is the scrupulous regard for accuracy, and the sanity of judgment, the absence of which is such a deplorable feature in the writings of Welshmen who write about Wales and the Welsh. For the existence of this accurate modern Welsh historic spirit, I may also refer my readers to Stephens's *Literature of the Kymry* (1849), Gweirydd ap Rhys's *Hanes y*

Brytaniaid a'r Cymry, 2 vols. (1872–74), the reprints of early Welsh MSS. published by Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans; the series of classical works published by the Guild of Graduates of our new University; and *The Wars of Edward I.*, by John Morris, M.A. Mr. O. M. Edwards, M.A., of the Welsh Education Department, has also made a very substantial contribution to this movement. So has Professor Anwyl, M.A., of Aberystwyth, and others. Mention must also be made of the works of Mr. J. Romilly Allen on *Celtic Art*, and to the vast mass of lore collected in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1845 to date), and the publications of the Honourable Society of London Cymrodorion (1877 to date).

It is, however, inevitable that a good deal of mystery and uncertainty must always be attached to the history and development of the Cymric race. All history is complicated, but that of the Welsh is unusually so, for so much of it is tradition, and that tradition elusive and unreliable. There is scarcely a proposition one could lay down that might not be made the subject of plausible and perennial controversy. The Welsh triads are supposed to embody some of the earliest laws, traditions, and customs of the people. They undoubtedly do bear the marks of Cymric civilisation at the time they were written, but we can trust neither their history nor their geography. That the Cymry, or Welsh, are a remote people there is, and can be, no doubt, as is testified by the literature of the Middle Ages, their language, and their associations; but how remote it is impossible to say. Undoubtedly they were among the first settlers in Europe, when the country was in a primitive and uncultivated condition. According to some authorities, they were not the first inhabitants of the British Isles, having been preceded by the Irish, whom they drove into Ireland and Scotland, and settled in their stead. We have no authentic history of the Welsh, and it passes the wit of man to differentiate between what is mythical and what is true in their life. Their Continental record is so intermingled with that of the other Celtic branches, and the specific references to them are so few, that it is impossible to state, with any degree of assurance, where the Cymric influence begins and where it ends. Even in Britain their separate

history is not always clear and definite. Whether they were the first inhabitants of Britain, there is no reliable information. Historians differ on the point, and there seems to be no available data to decide the question. The differences between Roman and Cymric chroniclers are so great, that each student is practically left to decide for himself. On the Cymric side, so much is taken for granted; and so much has been written and claimed that does not even rise to the dignity of historic probability. It is clear, from the character of this work, that the treatment of the subject must be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

Wales is a comparatively recent name. Its boundaries were defined and determined by two notable conflicts; one, the battle of Deorham in 577, when the Cymry of what is now Wales were severed from the Celtic tribes of the south-western peninsula; the other was the battle of Chester, when they were permanently cut off from their northern allies. The date of the latter is uncertain; the most probable is that of 616. Thus in the seventh century we witness the Cymry being brought upon the stage as a nation isolated and self-contained, and forced to rely upon its own resources. By the making of Offa's Dyke, towards the end of the eighth century, a line was drawn which was to separate English and Welsh for centuries, and which separates them at many points to-day. That part of the island—the Western part—in which they were enclosed, the inhabitants themselves called Cymru; the Saxons who conquered them called it Wales. "Welsh" is the name by which the Cymry are popularly known, though at first it was a term of reproach applied to them by the English. After the battle of Chester, the Cymric inhabitants, realising that their separate existence was endangered, continued to maintain a strenuous resistance to those Teutonic kingdoms by which they were surrounded. But the defeat of Cadwaladr in the latter half of the seventh century terminated the old Cymric kingdom; the result being that Wales was thrown into a state of complete social disorganisation. For centuries it remained a disunited country, made up of separate clans, kingdoms, and lordships; waging perpetual warfare against each other for some feudal lord or baron or prince,

and against the rulers of the English kingdoms. Thus it is that Cadwaladr is traditionally regarded as the last King of the Cymry to "wear the crown of Britain," which at that period passed to the Saxons.

Before the reign of Henry VIII. the Principality of Wales was smaller and less important than it is now. When it was annexed to the English Crown after the Edwardian Conquest, it was divided into three ancient shires of North Wales, namely, Merioneth, Carnarvon, and Anglesey. Flint was not finally annexed to Wales until the reign of Edward II. The towns, which partook of the character of English garrisons, were centred around baronial castles. The people were governed by mayors and stewards, and held their liberties from their lords. The castles were the symbols that the neighbouring lands had been won by conquest; they stood as the distinctive mark of a Lordship Marcher. The greatest of the Lordships Marchers were the counties of Glamorgan and Pembroke, which were organised on similar lines to those of the English counties, but both of them were smaller than at present. Pembroke was considered part of England, and called "Little England beyond Wales." In the south, Cardigan and Carmarthen alone were made shire-grounds in the reign of Edward I., having their own courts and sheriffs. The rest of Wales was called "The Marches," the jurisdiction being vested in 143 Lord Marchers. It was in the time of Henry VIII. that the present twelve counties and Monmouthshire were constituted and reconstructed, and by Act 34 & 35 of Henry VIII. the county of Monmouth was added to England for judicial purposes, and in a document called the King's Great Sessions in Wales there were created and established chancellaries at Chester for Flintshire, and at Carnarvon, Denbigh, Brecon, and Carmarthen. Those courts continued to exist until 1830, when they were abolished, and the jurisdiction of the English superior courts was extended to Wales.

The natural name of the Welsh is "Cymro"; plural, "Cymry." It dates from the sixth century, after the battle of Deorham, when it acquired a general and permanent significance. "Cymro" means "a compatriot"; it evolved itself in the contest of Celtic tribes with Teutonic immigrants.

It did not imply those who spoke the same language, or who belonged to the same race. The term embraced both the Goidelic and the Brythonic population in their combined resistance to the Angles and the Saxons. These two Celtic groups were of Aryan origin. The Goidels were the first to arrive in Britain, and, like the Brythons, they came from Gaul, the land where the Celts chiefly dwelt in the days of Cæsar. The approximate date assigned to their coming is 600 B.C. They are supposed to have given the whole island the name of Alban. The Goidels were not the first inhabitants; being anteceded by a non-Aryan native population known as Iberians, a people entirely different in customs, ideals, religion, and in dialect, which dialect was in some respects akin to Welsh. The Iberians were subjugated, enslaved, and Celticised, and in the course of time the Aryan element represented by the original Goidels, and the non-Aryan element represented by the native Iberians, became so intermingled that the amalgamation evolved a new type of Goidelic people—more non-Aryan than Aryan.

The bulk of the Brythons came over to Britain between the time of Pytheas and of Julius Cæsar—in the second century B.C.; they were, however, preceded by small bands of other Brythons, the immigration extending over several centuries. It was now the turn of the Goidels to be subjugated, as they had in their day subjugated the Iberians. The Brythons drove the Goidels to the north and the west, and established their ascendancy over them. Each affected the other, and in the course of time mutually shared in the process of assimilation. These tribes formed the early ancestors of the Cymry; so that the Welsh of the present day are composite in character, being a blend of the Aboriginal, the Goidelic, and the Brythonic. It has been assumed that the Brythonic element largely predominates, but the supposition is founded more upon sentiment than upon fact. The mass of the Welsh of to-day are even more non-Aryan than Aryan. A few of the old landowning classes and nobility might be justly said to bear some ethnological marks of their Aryan origin, but the commonalty show no such traces. In addition to the earlier admixture, should be con-

sidered the foreign blood introduced into the country by the legions of ancient Rome during the Roman occupation, the Scandinavian rovers dating from the eighth to the twelfth century, the Flemings, who settled in considerable numbers in the country after the Norman Conquest; Henry I. making use of them against the Welsh by planting them in the county of Pembroke. Wales has also received constant additions from England and Ireland, and the English addition has been increasing by leaps and bounds during recent years, and is likely to increase. It would be difficult to state with any exactitude how far these and previous settlements have affected or modified the composition of the Welsh people. They are naturally endowed with the gift of resistance; it is one of their constitutional qualities. But that the Welsh have changed, and that their temperament has been modified, is apparent to every ethnologist and psychologist who takes interest in the people. Not that they will cease to be Welsh: the nations of Europe, even the numerically small ones, in spite of clear proximity to, and intercourse with, each other, preserve a wonderful amount of individuality.

So much for the ethnological origin of the ancestors of the present-day Welsh. What of their religion or religions? That of the Goidels was a combination of Pantheism and Druidism, the latter of which they accepted and assimilated from the aboriginal population. Closely connected with this Druidic order were the bards or minstrels who sang the praises of Cymric heroes to the accompaniment of the harp; and the seers or ovates, who were soothsayers or sorcerers. The determination of the Romans to exterminate Druidism, and which determination came to fruition in the days of Claudius, was due to two things: the first was that Druidism, which, as a philosophical system and a practical tenet, contained many excellent features, had by the days of the Roman occupation degenerated into a system of mere sorcery; the second reason being that the Druids of those times were the main instigators of the Celtic tribes in their continued resistance to the Romans. The Brythons, on the other hand, were Polytheists. There is nothing to show that they embraced or practised Druidism, either in its earlier or its later

form. As the two tribes differed in their religions, so they differed in their languages—a difference which existed even before they left the Continent. The two dialects were characteristic of the civilisation of each tribe, involving a distinction of race, laws, and institutions. The view expressed in *The Welsh People* is that they differed from one another somewhat in the same way as "Latin and the Umbro-Sammite dialects of Ancient Italy." The native dialect yielded at a very early date to the Goidelic; but the Goidelic and the Brythonic continued to exist side by side well into the seventh century, when the former yielded to the latter. There is no evidence that the Goidelic was spoken in any part of Wales in the eighth century. This dialect is now represented by the Gaelic of Ireland, of the Isle of Man, and of Scotland; while the Brythonic is represented by the Welsh and by the Armoric dialect of Brittany.

Such knowledge as we possess of the Cymric ancestors—their laws, habits, and military prowess—we owe to Cæsar, who made his first descent upon Britain, 55 B.C. He discovered that they were a valorous people. They held in check the forces of his splendid armies longer than any other European race. It was through their aid in the fourth century that Constantine the Great was enabled, in a measure, to cripple the persecuting pagan power of the Roman Empire. Cæsar's second attempt, in the year 54 B.C., was more successful, though it did not result in the conquest of the island. Hostages were exacted and tributes were imposed, though rarely paid. Cæsar took his departure in the same year. A century later, 43 A.D., the island was subdued by Claudius Cæsar, after a sanguinary struggle extending over a period of forty years. The Roman occupation, which continued for about four hundred years, proved more beneficial to the British tribes than to the Roman Empire; and on account of the invasion of Italy by the Goths, the Romans were obliged to withdraw their forces from Britain in the first decade of the fifth century. During the occupation the Cymric tribes were made acquainted with the Latin tongue and the Latin literature; the education of Cymric youths was transferred from Druidic to Roman schoolmasters; means of transit were im-

proved, and a more efficient government established. The Romans did not unduly interfere with the liberties of the natives; they were allowed to retain their settlements, and to be nominally governed by their own chiefs; industries were encouraged, and the people were brought under the observation and influence of the more cultivated nations of the Continent. Above all, it opened up the way for the introduction of Christianity into the island. It had already gained a footing in Rome, and was brought to the notice of British natives by Roman soldiers and their attendants; though there is not much historical evidence of the founding of a British Church in those days.

It would occupy too much space in a work of this kind to deal with the various legends bearing upon this question. Professor J. E. Lloyd of Bangor, in his recent *History of Wales*, follows, in the main, the course set out in *The Welsh People*, and by Haverfield and others, who have made Celtic and Roman Britain their own peculiar spheres. He brushes aside the incredible Lucius story as to the origin of Christianity in Britain, as unceremoniously as he denies the title of historian to Geoffrey of Monmouth and his contemporary, Caradog of Llancarfan. He ascribes some of the supposititious assertions of Gildas to "dense ignorance." It is safe, however, to assume that Christianity became an organised religious force in Britain before the end of the second century, and that British Christianity was of Gallic origin, being a direct outgrowth of the Church of Gaul. The Gallican Church of that period was subjected to severe persecutions, and many Gallic Christian refugees made their way to Britain, and occupied their time in the work of evangelisation. There is some evidence that early in the fourth century Britain had its Church with its three orders of ministry, bishops, priests, and deacons, and which was in organised unity with the Catholic Church of the Continent. Its bishops were in receipt of Roman Imperial allowances. The British Church had but limited sources, and it was confined mostly to Roman settlers and Romanised natives. It was seriously crippled by the withdrawal of the Roman forces in the first decade of the fifth century. Its position was further assailed

by the introduction of Pelagianism, by Agricola, immediately after the Roman evacuation. The Pelagian faith had an attraction for the adherents of the British Church, on account of its doctrinal compatibility with the old Druidic teaching regarding the freedom of the will. Its progress was, however, checked by the counter-influence of certain Gallican prelates, who came over from Gaul, though there is no reliable authority for the assumption that they visited Wales. The impression which Pelagianism had already made remained for many centuries; the ninth Article in the Book of Common Prayer was expressly formulated against it.

In A.D. 477, the monastic element was introduced by St. Germanus, and to this event must be attributed the establishment of the numerous Welsh monastic institutions which followed. Each monastery had its own abbot, priests, monks, and churches—the abbots of the Welsh monasteries being bishops, not laymen, as in the case of the Irish and Scotch monasteries of that age. Monasticism was a prominent feature of the old Celtic Church, and the system made rapid headway among the various Celtic tribes. Though it finally failed to withstand the inroads of the better-organised Latin monastic system, yet it is still possible to trace some of the customs and habits that were derived from it. The term monastery, in its modern sense, is not applicable to the religious communities and societies of the early Celtic Church. At first it was simply a name given to the Christian settlement, where the converts dwelt with their wives and families. In course of time women were excluded; so were the families. Then came a reaction, with the result that discipline became lax, and the Celtic monasteries had to make way for the Norman abbeys. Of their influence for good upon Wales and the Welsh, there is ample evidence. To the old Celt his settlement was everything; it represented the religious side of tribal life. In the early days such settlements were a necessity; without them it would have been impossible for Christianity to have gained a foothold in the land, and to have held its own. Indeed, the history of the Celtic Church in Wales from the arrival of Christianity to the coming of St. Augustine, is the history of the establishment and growth of monasteries.

They were pre-eminently religious colonies, and their popularity may be accounted for by the fact that they gave the people what they could not get elsewhere, namely, security against violence, peace, and the consolations of Christian fellowship. They helped to develop country life, and were the only means of instruction then accessible to the people. The prevailing instability in civil and political affairs was not conducive to missionary enterprise on any considerable scale, but the monastic clergy did something towards evangelising the English, and were constantly engaged in philanthropic work. They went about preaching the Gospel among the tribes and supplying the needs of the poor.

During the religious revival of the sixth century additional monasteries were established, the number of the clergy increased, and schools of learning multiplied. How long the Celtic monastic system lasted it is difficult to say. After the arrival of Augustine the small Welsh monasteries began to languish, and from that time up to the Norman Conquest we see the transformation of the monastic houses, both small and large, into local churches, followed by the rise of episcopal jurisdiction in Wales. The religious houses in Wales had been mainly Benedictine, but in 1128 the Cistercian Order came over from France, and in 1130 Richard de Grenville founded a colony of that order at Neath, in Glamorganshire; others were subsequently established, chiefly in the diocese of St. David's. In the art of cultivating a Welsh spirit, the Cistercian monks were more Welsh than the Welsh themselves. The enormous influence they gained over the people may be gauged by the fact that they succeeded in winning over the Welsh to the Latin Church; they took the part of the Welsh chiefs against the King, and became the advisers of the natives in their struggles against England. It was a Cistercian monk who was the companion of Llywelyn when he died, and it was at a Cistercian house that Owain Glyn Dwr's plans of rebellion were laid. It is believed by competent historians that had the Cistercian monks never come to Wales it is probable that the Wales of to-day would have resembled the adjoining counties of Salop and Hereford.

It is natural to suppose that Christianity would not appeal as readily to the Brythons as to the Goidels, for there was less affinity between their religion and the tenets of the new Gospel. The Brythons had much to sacrifice in abandoning Polytheism for Christianity, whereas the Goidels might embrace the new religion and still retain the peculiarities of their own faith. But the Brythons had been in closer touch with the Roman settlers, and even went to the length of intermarrying. The native British Church is considered to have developed out of the Roman-British Church among the Brythonic tribes. The ancient, like the modern Welsh, were intelligently, as well as devoutly, religious. They were religiously happy even in pre-Reformation days. The wax, the crucifix, the incense, and the holy water were to them helpful means for a definite purpose. The Mass, penance, absolution, and confession they held in the highest esteem, whilst nothing charmed them more than the celibacy of the clergy, however much they might have tolerated their concubinage. The monasteries were of all institutions the ones they most cherished, and chiefly because they ministered in so remarkable a degree to sound learning and the dispensing of charity. The Celtic religion was compelled to take refuge in the western part of the island on account of Teutonic invasions. The Saxons arrived A.D. 477, and the Angles in 547. In the interval between the departure of the Romans and the Teutonic conquest, the Celtic tribes were constantly harassed by the Northern hordes beyond the Roman wall, and the feeling of insecurity was increased after the arrival of the Angles and the Saxons. The Celtic population were gradually forced into the interior—westward and northward; and were compelled to retreat to the extreme parts of the island, so that about the sixth century we find them scattered throughout Wales, Cornwall, and the North, under one general denomination resisting the Anglo-Saxon arms, in defence of their freedom, with such tenacity and under such circumstances that they have a peculiar claim to our sympathy. The cruelties perpetrated by the Anglo-Saxon invaders gave birth to many bardic effusions, such bards being in most cases connected with the Welsh monastic schools of learning.

As I have already observed, the Cymric confederation was broken up by the battle of Deorham, A.D. 577, and the battle of Chester in 616. It was split up in three separate parts, the Cymry of Strathclyde, the Cymry of Damnonia, and the Cymry of Cambria. The first were eventually absorbed by the English and Scottish kingdoms; the second became known as Cornishmen, and were brought into subjection to the English; the third, which inhabited Cambria or Wales proper—from the Severn to the sea on the west—maintained their independence until their conquest by Edward I. in 1282. For eight hundred years the struggle was carried on, for it really began after the final departure of the Romans in 446. But the bane of the Cymry was their want of unity. Their dissensions, besides destroying their power, actually affected their morals — engendering contempt for social order and defiance of authority, and a total disregard of the decencies of civilised life. During these centuries Wales presents a mournful spectacle. What nationalism there was took the form of tribal divisions and jealousies; united action was unknown. Real nationalism began during the reign of Henry VIII., and developed from that time onward, though even now it stands in need of improvement to make it worthy. It is utterly a mistaken idea that the Welsh of to-day are the disconsolate remnant of a once great and united nation. They never were united, not even in the days of Llywelyn the Great. There was no consciousness of a united Welsh nationality. Theophilus Evans, in his *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, has encouraged the sentiment that the days of yore were the Golden Age of the Welsh; but it was not until Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd had vanquished Mid and South Wales, and the Treaty of Shrewsbury signed in 1267, when Wales was first recognised as a distinct princedom, that Wales first came into possession of conscious nationhood. At the time of his death Llywelyn was thought to be a beaten man; but it was not so, for the Welsh Prince was then recognised as a semi-independent sovereign, exactly the same as the King of Scotland. Llywelyn was a leader of great military capacity; his guiding principle was the principle of all the successful Welsh Princes, namely, to make Wales one united kingdom. He succeeded

in reducing the greater part, and bringing it into unity under his own leadership; but misfortune dogged his footsteps.

The revolt of his brother Dafydd, and the general submission of the barons to Henry III. and Prince Edward, after the battle of Evesham in 1265, forced Llywelyn to make peace with Henry. Terms were arranged through the intervention of the papal legate, Ottoban. These terms were favourable to Llywelyn. He was to pay twenty-four thousand marks by way of indemnity, and the limits of the Principality were defined in a generous manner towards him, and the lands which he had possessed were restored to him. The Principality was granted to him and to his heirs, and he was authorised to receive the homage of all the Welsh barons, except the representatives of the old line of South Wales Princes. The treaty was signed and ratified by papal authority in 1267. But Llywelyn did not honourably observe the terms of this treaty. He carried on an intrigue against Henry III. with the sons of Simon de Montfort, whose father had promised him his daughter Eleanor in marriage. Llywelyn secretly regarded the Treaty of Montgomery as the immediate stepping-stone to the realisation of his dream. In this he was encouraged by the bards, whose influence among the people and over Llywelyn was considerable. But Llywelyn did nothing publicly to dispute the English central authority until the death of Henry III. in 1272. Edward, who had gone abroad on a Crusade, was called back by the news of his father's decease. He returned August 2, 1274, nineteen months after his father's death. He was proclaimed King at Westminster in his absence and without opposition, the government being carried on by the Archbishop of York, Edmund of Cornwall, and others, on his behalf. Llywelyn declined to attend the assembly of the magnates of the Kingdom, at Westminster, to do homage, as had been the custom of Welsh Princes. He was still carrying on secret intrigues against Edward as he had been doing against Henry, and there is every evidence that he was encouraged by many of the English barons to continue his resistance. He also opened up communication with Rome, and succeeded in obtaining from Gregory X. a decree absolving

him from obedience to any citations outside Wales. Edward was crowned on August 18, 1274. Scotland was represented at the coronation by Alexander III., but Llywelyn refused to make submission. Edward went to Chester and summoned Llywelyn to attend, but he again refused. Six times the request was made in various ways and on different occasions, and six times refused.

Besides his difficulties with the King, Llywelyn had to cope with internal discontent, and especially with the revolt of his brother, Dafydd, who escaped and found refuge with the King. Llywelyn took advantage of this incident, professing to regard it as a breach of mutual feudal obligations, and began to openly defy the new King. Edward regarded the conduct of Llywelyn as shifty and faithless, and there was some ground for the view which he took. Llywelyn demanded, before consenting to go to London to do homage, that some English nobles of distinction—Edmund of Lancaster, the King's brother, and the Justiciar, Ralph Hengham—should be delivered as hostages for his security. Whether Llywelyn's fears were well grounded may be a matter of controversy, but Edward had already shown that he was determined upon nothing less than unconditional submission on the part of Llywelyn and his people. He was an enemy of everything Cymric, and permitted his functionaries to commit many unpardonable excesses, even in districts over which they had no jurisdiction. Llywelyn presented a petition to the King with a view of preventing such abuses, but Edward imposed absolute submission as an essential preliminary even to a consideration of his petition. The whole transaction between Llywelyn and Edward from beginning to end was characterised by mutual distrust and enmity. Compacts were made and broken on both sides, and every artifice resorted to in order to gain some advantage. The breach between the two continued to widen. Llywelyn's bride, who had been captured at sea, was still in the custody of Edward, and he refused to release her save on terms which Llywelyn regarded as impossible. The Prince signed the Treaty of Worcester, which abrogated the claims of the Welsh Princes to a separate sovereignty, but he made this great sacrifice merely because

his sweetheart—a daughter of Sir Simon de Montfort—was a prisoner at Windsor, and it was in order to liberate her that Llywelyn, the last Prince, capitulated. Llywelyn was married in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, and not in accordance with Welsh custom. The Welsh Church and the Welsh Princes were often in conflict, and the incident of Llywelyn's marriage is a case in point. It has been maintained that Llywelyn missed a great opportunity in not embarking more heartily and unreservedly in the cause of Earl Simon; but the Prince knew but little of foreign conditions, and while he possessed great military skill, he lacked the power of adaptability. The safe course for him was to limit his operations to Wales, and he knew it.

By the Treaty of Conway Llywelyn was reduced to the position of a petty baron; he had to surrender all prisoners and pay a fine of fifty thousand marks. The King's adherents were restored to the lands they had possessed before the war. The Welsh barons, with the exception of the five barons of Snowdon, were no longer compelled to do him homage. Certain provisions were made for his brother, Dafydd, with whom he had been at variance. Among the other provisions of the treaty, it was stipulated that Llywelyn should go to London to pay obeisance to Edward, and to renew that submission once a year at Christmas-time. It is due to Edward to record that he relaxed the severity of the terms by remitting the fine and giving up the hostages delivered by Llywelyn. He did homage at Rhuddlan, and at Christmas-time the ceremony was repeated in London. Llywelyn became more prudent and conciliatory, but the death of his wife at child-birth in 1280 seemed to have renewed his old bitterness towards the English Court, and that bitterness was increased by the rapacity of the King's officers and representatives. Llywelyn saw, in the repair and reconstruction of the old castles, and other acts, Edward's determination to substitute Norman-English laws for those Welsh customs which, according to the Treaty of Conway, were to be retained in the districts in which the lands of the Welsh might lie. This ignoring of the provisions inserted in the treaty for the protection of Welsh owners of land was

brought before the notice of Edward, but he acted in bad faith by refusing to maintain the Welsh laws "only in so far as they were good." Llywelyn also brought his own personal grievances to the attention of the King's Court at Rhuddlan, with regard to some land which he claimed. Dafydd, his brother, also made complaints against the authorities of the English Crown, and there was a general feeling among the Welsh-speaking people that one more effort should be made to secure the independence of the country. The independence now sought was not independence in the form of severance, but the liberty to manage their own affairs in accordance with their own laws and conceptions of right and expediency. Llywelyn and his brother came to an understanding, and a general insurrection was decided upon. Both took arms on Palm Sunday, 1282. Dafydd surprised Hawarden Castle and captured the Chief Justice and slew the garrison, while Llywelyn swept the whole coast-land as far as the gates of Chester. Edward had no option but to treat Llywelyn and his brother Dafydd as rebels, and he at once raised an army and a fleet for the *final* subjugation of the Principality. Peckham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had made several efforts to effect a reconciliation, whether on his own initiative, or at the instigation of the King, it is difficult to decide; but the negotiations having fallen through, the Archbishop excommunicated Llywelyn.

In the conflict which ensued, Edward suffered many reverses, but the Welsh, never highly skilled in the art of war, were eventually obliged to take refuge among the crags of Snowdon. Llywelyn asked for terms, and Edward offered to make him an English Earl, and to grant him lands worth £1000 a year, though he stipulated that the independent Principality of North Wales should be annexed to England. Llywelyn, however, did not accept these conditions, and by a dangerous night march he slipped through the English lines. With a few chosen followers Llywelyn made his way to South Wales, where the Earl of Gloucester and Sir Edward Mortimer were advancing against the Welsh forces, leaving his brother Dafydd to defend himself in the North. On his way southward he endeavoured to gain fresh adherents, and ravaged the

estates of Rhys ap Maredudd, who was serving with the King. It was also his intention, later on in the year, to cut off King Edward's communication with Chester; but fortune was against him. Mortimer met him not far from Builth Castle, and he was obliged to make a retreat on December 10, 1282. There can be no doubt that Llywelyn was betrayed to his death. It was arranged that he should meet the other Welsh chiefs and some of the disaffected lords, numbering eighteen in all, in the neighbourhood of Builth, Breconshire. This is clearly proved in one of the poems of Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch in his elegy to Llywelyn. He was the last bard, and probably the ablest, who sang in praise of the fallen Prince. Llywelyn's head was severed and dispatched to Edward the King, who was then at Conway, North Wales. Edward received the bleeding trophy with delight, and had it sent to London, decorated and exhibited in a pillory, and encircled with a crown of ivy, in mocking allusion to a prophecy current among the Welsh that Llywelyn would be crowned there. It was then carried on a spear through the streets of London, in savage derision, and ultimately placed upon an iron spike on the top of the Tower of London.

The Archbishop of Canterbury withheld the spiritual panacea of absolution, which, in that age of papal bigotry, could only entitle the body to Christian burial. After a while the holy boon was reluctantly granted, and the remains of the Prince are said to have been consigned to the tomb in the parish of Llanganten, near Builth, in the county of Brecknock, South Wales. The spot—sacred to every Welshman—is known as Cefn-y-bedd. Thus in the year 1282, after a reign of about thirty-six years, perished Llywelyn, the last of the princely Cymric lines, and the only hope of independence. True, his brother, whom he left in command in Snowdon, was afterwards acknowledged by the Welsh barons as their Prince, but not many months passed before he was betrayed into the hands of the King. He was imprisoned at Rhuddlan Castle, and on October 3, 1283, hanged, drawn, and quartered. The barons, seeing that any further resistance would be futile, surrendered; and Madog, supposed to be Llywelyn's son, led an insurrection in 1294, but it was vigorously stamped out in

the following year. Owain Glyn Dwr, over one hundred years later, attempted to revive the claims of the old Princes, and openly defied Henry IV.; but the prospects of Wales as an independent country had practically passed away for ever with the death of Llywelyn. It is an extraordinary fact that Welsh independence or semi-independence broke down at the very point where it had, after centuries of changing fortunes, attained its greatest political power.

Edward prolonged his stay in Wales for a period of two years, devoting his time chiefly to the reorganisation of the Principality on English lines; and in order to increase the power of the central government, he divided the old dominions of Llywelyn into the counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Anglesea, and built castles at Harlech, Conway, Beaumaris, and Carnarvon in order to keep the natives in subjection. These castles were powerful aids in the subjugation of the people. The "Statute of Wales" was drawn up at Rhuddlan in 1284. The ordinance consisted of a series of regulations which have been compared to the laws made by the British Government for the settlement of the affairs of the North-West Provinces of India. It is included in the statutes of the realm. The authoritative version of this ordinance is that in the statutes of the realm published by the Record Commissioners in 1810, vol. i. page 55. The text of the 1810 version is from a roll then in the Tower of London, now at the Record Office, and the various readings are from two rolls written in the time of Edward I. Under the provisions of this ordinance, some of the old Welsh laws and customs were abolished, and others were corrected and enlarged, while a few were allowed to remain.

This did not complete the political and social reorganisation of Wales, but it ended the prospect of an independent Principality. Welsh nationality survived the loss of its formal independence, but the Welsh question ceased to be a national one and was reduced to a mere border question. In 1301 the King gave his heir Edward the title of Prince of Wales, and nominally invested in him the government of the land. It has been a matter of discussion as to whether King Edward's son was born at Carnarvon Castle. Tourists who

visit the Castle are shown a dingy little room in the Eagle Tower where the first Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II., is said to have been born. Is it a myth? Mr. Albert Hartshorne, the archæologist, once took up the matter, and showed that the Castle was hardly begun in the reign of Edward I., and not finished till more than thirty years after the birth of his son. He was not named Prince of Wales till he was in his eighteenth year.

The last of the Welsh Princes to occupy the position of Prince of Wales was Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. Edward I. therefore succeeded in substituting the heir to the English Crown for a native Prince of the race of Mælgwyn and Cunedda. The title of Prince of Wales is reserved for the eldest son of the reigning English monarch, but the date of the patent by which it is conferred depends upon the pleasure of His Majesty. In this respect it differs from the title of Duke of Cornwall, to which the eldest son of the Sovereign succeeds on his father's accession to the throne, in accordance with the special limitation in the charter of Edward III. of 1337, by which the title was first created. In the case of the present King—King George—the title of Prince of Wales was bestowed on him on November 9, 1901, his late Majesty's accession having taken place on January 22 of the same year. The investiture of Edward, the present Prince of Wales, at Carnarvon on the 13th of July 1911, was the first solemn investiture of a Prince of Wales for three hundred years, and the first investiture of a Prince of Wales in Wales for over six hundred years.

The diplomatic act of King Edward I. did not complete the subjugation of Wales. Edward's conduct towards Llywelyn when alive, and his inhuman treatment of his remains, served to intensify and to perpetuate the hatred with which the Welsh regarded the English at that time, and continued to regard them for centuries. Llywelyn, whatever may have been his defects, was an honest patriot, and a man of great capacity. He was a brave foe, and a descendant of one of the oldest reigning families of Western Europe. He could trace his family back to the time when Britain still formed part of the Roman Empire, and which, with some

brief intervals, had ruled Gwynedd for nearly nine hundred years.

What were the effects of the final overthrow of Wales as an independent or semi-independent nation on the people? The wealthier sections of the community, and the nobility, made the best of the new state of things, and did what they could to Anglicise themselves, but a wistful melancholy penetrated the very heart and brain of the masses of the people. They longed for the idealistic world of the past, the days of vivid heroism and of adventure which had lent picturesqueness to the life of the race. Its influence may be clearly traced in the music, poetry, and literature of later days. For centuries the Cymric ideal had pursued and hunted them like a feverish dream; reverses disorganised them; but they had an enormous recuperative force. The conviction that they were a conquered people did not come home to them until after the death of Llywelyn, and the "Statute of Wales" had become a fact. When they realised the impossibility of attaining their patriotic ideal, they turned against themselves, despising their ancient literature, neglecting the use of their language, and ceasing to cultivate the passion for liberty. It is one of the psychological results of disappointed ambition. If it were possible to summarise the mental attitude of the Welsh, it might be characterised as one of unconsidered hope and unfulfilled ideals. The assertive ambitious Welshman of to-day is far removed from the docile and reclusive Welshman of the centuries succeeding the overthrow. It would be difficult to definitely fix the dividing-line between the old and the new Welshman. Changes—civil and religious—have had their corresponding, though not immediately synchronous, effects upon him. A people may meet with many vicissitudes, but they do not change their character suddenly. The change that has taken place in the Welshman's mentality has been one of slow and gradual process. The modern Welshman has got rid of that ascetic disposition which his ancestors cultivated in the years succeeding the overthrow. That disposition was intensified by the character of their country—isolated and mountainous, far removed from the centre of affairs, without cities and without any organised institutions.

In addition to this there was the unsympathetic and even arbitrary government of rulers and officials alien to them in blood, faith, language, and in civilisation, and who regarded their local customs, personal appearance, and idiosyncrasies with derision and contempt. These were among the combined elements that retarded their intellectual development, and brought about a serious arrest of social and moral progress.

From the time of the overthrow, more than half a century elapsed before that rich poetic feeling, so characteristic of the ancient Cymry, and which was interrupted at the death of Llywelyn, was revived; when it did reappear, it was in a new form. The bards had played a very heavy part in the struggle for independence. Events were recorded, and moral and religious disputations were carried on in verse. Song-writers flourished down to the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth—a period of drastic change in Church and State. These writers were both clerical and lay, and they sang almost entirely in the vernacular, which shows how thoroughly Welsh the people were, notwithstanding the fact that the religious exercises to which they had been accustomed had been in the Latin tongue throughout the preceding centuries. There is another striking instance of the loyalty of the Welsh to the traditions of their race. In the days of the Reformation they were devoted Papists; even when the Reformation came, it did not penetrate Wales. But when the Jesuits captured the College at Rome, which was a Welsh presentation, and in which Welsh priests were being trained, and when they began intriguing against Queen Elizabeth, who was a Welshwoman, they renounced their allegiance to Romanism, and Wales became an Anglican community. They were willing to accept either Franciscan or Benedictine monks; but Elizabeth was Welsh, a descendant of Henry Tudor; and being a race of Celts, they stood by her dynasty. It was the beginning of the Welsh Renaissance.

The effect of the overthrow was as great among the bards as it was among the people. True, the overthrow was followed by the Golden Age of Welsh poetry, in which shone Gruffudd Grug, Iolo Goch, Dafydd ap Gwilym, and many others, but the overthrow relegated the bards into a position of

comparative unimportance; they fell into a kind of trance, and the cultivation of the national muse was practically abandoned for a time. It reappeared in the middle of the fourteenth century, but without the warlike strain that had hitherto distinguished it. It came in a new garb and with new subject-matters for its themes. War and bloodshed, and the heroic deeds of princes, had hitherto been its main topics; but with the loss of independence these subjects no longer afforded scope for the imagination of the poets. War gave way to love as a bardic topic, and many Welsh romances are products of this new period. True, the bards, at the time of the insurrection of Owain Glyn Dwr in 1400–6, employed their muse to rouse the patriotic sentiment of the people, and their stirring odes were the means of influencing many educated Welshmen to rally round Glyn Dwr's standard.

A similar change came over the art of music, for which the old Welsh had shown great proficiency, especially with the harp and the violin. Whether this change in the character of Welsh music, the change from the major to the minor, is directly traceable to the consciousness that they were a conquered race, is a question upon which there is a difference of opinion. There are many Englishmen, and not a few Welshmen, who, through lack of acquaintance with Welsh history, imagine that all Welsh music is minor music. In fact, many Welsh airs of all ages are as wildly merry as they can possibly be, such as "Merch Megan," "Nos Galan," "Pen Rhaw," etc. It is, however, a historical fact that such musical compositions as the dirge, "Morfa Rhuddlan," which was composed immediately after a battle, as well as other compositions, had their birth in memory of the bitter experiences in the history of the elders. In all their struggles they had known no fear, and had given no quarter to the enemy. Despondency in adversity was a thing unknown in the history of the ancient Cymry. Llywelyn was described by the bards as the "Commander of the men of terrible shout." Whether the occasion called for dirge-like music, or whether it was one of the direct results of the conquest upon the disposition of the Cymry, or whether the disposition obtained long before the Saxon overcame them, may be a matter of controversy;

but it cannot be disputed that the period following the conquest gave prominence to an element of sadness which has ever since largely pervaded Welsh airs, hymns, poetry, and prose.

The overthrow was also followed by a period of social and moral retrogression among the common people. For a space of three hundred years many parts of the country were steeped in wickedness and superstition. John Penry's letters give us an insight into the state of the morality and education of Welshmen at the end of the sixteenth century. From them we see how men and women, in their ignorance and superstition, walked barefooted long distances to visit old wells and churches, and there on the hillside listened to singers and harpers recounting the heroic deeds of their ancestors. The following is Penry's letter to Parliament on behalf of his native country:—

"Thus I have performed a duty towards the Lord, His Church, my country, and you of this High Court, which I would do if it were to be done again, though I were assured to endanger my life thereby. And be it known that in this cause I am not afraid of earth. If I perish, I perish. My comfort is, that I know whither to go; and in that day wherein the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, the sincerity of my cause shall appear. It is enough for me, howsoever I be miserable in regard of my sins, that yet unto Christ I both live and die; and I purpose, by His grace, if my life should be prolonged, to live hereafter not unto myself, but unto Him and His Church, otherwise than hitherto I have done. The Lord is able to raise up those that are of purer hands and lips than I am, to write and speak in the cause of His honour in Wales. And the Lord made them, whosoever they shall be, never to be wanting unto so good a cause, the which, because it may be the Lord's pleasure that I shall leave them behind me in the world, I earnestly and vehemently command unto them, as by this last will and testament. And have you, right honourable and worshipful of this Parliament, poor Wales in remembrance, that the blessings of many a soul therein may follow Her Majesty, your Honours and Worships, overtake you, light upon you, and stick unto you for ever. The Eternal God give Her Majesty and you the honour of building His Church in Wales. Multiply the days of her peace over us, bless her and you so in this life that in the life to come the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven may be her and your portion. So be it, good Lord. By him that hath bound himself continually to pray for your Honours and Worships, JOHN PENRY."

John Penry was accused of having written the Mar-Prelate Tracts, which were regarded as libellous pamphlets,

menacing the Queen and those in authority. Elizabeth's position at that time was full of danger, and she had many enemies; the author or authors of the Mar-Prelate Tracts were considered to be among them. Penry was tried for treason and rebellion, before Judges Popham, Young, and Fanshawe, and was found guilty by a London jury. Nonconformity holds Archbishop Whitgift and the Anglican Church responsible for his death. Udal, who was condemned with him, and Penry were put to death, the one in prison and the other on the scaffold. Wakeman, the Oxford historian, wrote that he had no doubt as to Penry's guilt. Dr. Dexter likewise, in his work on Congregationalism, gave it as his opinion that Penry, in conjunction with Udal, wrote the Tracts. Whether he did is likely to remain a matter of controversy. But whether Penry wrote them or not cannot affect the fact that he was a patriot, a man of a deeply religious nature, of cleanly habits, and a courageous advocate of what he believed to be the truth. His letters written in prison to his four little girls could not have been written but by a man filled with a love of his Fatherland, a man who, if in the excess of his zeal for his countrymen he did commit treason, gave the most precious gift a man can give—his life. These letters prove him to be an androgynous man—that is, a man-woman. They are among the most apostolically-minded letters written since the days of the Apostles. Moreover, the Mar-Prelate movement was part of another movement, having its roots in the violent social and political changes which were the results of the Tudor legislation. The sudden revolution from Welsh to English laws, and the arbitrary method by which those laws were enforced, was bound to lead to serious difficulties. Edward I. had left several districts exempt from English law, and had permitted the continuance of many Welsh laws and customs. To a certain extent, up to the time of Henry VIII., the Welsh law was still the law of the country, but Henry decided to substitute English for Welsh laws and customs. The native discontent was intensified by the methods adopted for the substitution of the new Anglican system for the old Celtic religious system, and its absorption of the Welsh area into

the province of Canterbury. The new Anglicanism was, undoubtedly, more distasteful to the native Welsh of those times than the Latin system, though both were opposed to the old Cymric ideas. The Pope of Rome had gone, but even under the new system Welshmen were told that their primary duty was to obey. Religion to them had been a matter of private judgment, of principle, and of doctrine, but, as Willis Bund in his *Celtic Church of Wales* justly says, "it was all reduced to the arbitrary order of an arbitrary power."

There can be no doubt as to the legality of the continuity of the official hierarchy of the Church of England. That is recognised, just as the physical continuity of its ancient buildings is recognised. But it must not be forgotten that Christianity existed in Wales before the mission of St. Augustine to the Saxons, and that it was by gradual process that the Welsh area became part of the province of Canterbury. The ancestors of the Welsh were not a party to the legislation which repudiated the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and which invested the Archbishop of Canterbury with rights and powers exercised under the sovereign headship of the King of England. It is by no means an unimportant fact that the people of Wales were not represented in the Parliament that passed the Act of Supremacy of 1531. There are solid historical grounds for the contention that the Protestant Reformed Church of England by law established is not identical with that Latin Church with which, in former years, Welshmen were in communion, and which was recognised by the Welsh princes and rulers, civil and ecclesiastical, as the lawful Catholic Church. There is another important consideration, namely, that by English law the form of government, the creeds, the ritual, and the ceremony of the Catholic Church in England were altered in respect of fundamental principles.

So in considering the actions of John Penry and those of his compatriots who were driven into incipient rebellion, even assuming Penry was guilty in having a hand in the Mar-Prelate Tracts, such considerations must be taken into account. It is claimed for Henry VIII. that the statutes that he enacted against the Welsh were rendered necessary

by the social and political conditions of the country. It is not within the province of this work to deal with the justice or the injustice of the prohibitive measures which were then passed in order to keep the Welsh quiet, but some consideration should be extended to John Penry and his compatriots, who were goaded to the pitch of frenzy by the unreasonable and arbitrary methods by which the new system, both civil and ecclesiastical, was enforced upon them.

A noted clergyman of the name of Rhys Prichard, vicar of Llandovery, Carmarthenshire, born in the year 1579, educated at Jesus College, Oxford, and a strict Conformist and Puritan, composed during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. a collection of poems called *The Welshman's Candle*. In these poems he describes the ignorance and immorality of which he was an eye-witness. The work consists of hundreds of religious carols. The young clergyman's sacred calling did not protect himself from the contagion of the prevailing intemperance.

In the year 1703 there appeared a remarkable book, entitled *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* (*The Visions of the Sleeping Bard*), by the Rev. Ellis Wynn, vicar of Llanfair in Merionethshire. This Welsh classic has passed through twenty-eight editions, and is truly suggestive reading. It consists of three parts: first, the vision of the course of this world; second, the vision of death in its lower court; third, the vision of hell.

"The world is a vast city, consisting of three streets, the control of which has been given to Belial's three daughters—Pride, Pleasure, and Lucre. Each street is called after the name of the particular princess that rules over it. In the street of Pride there are vanities innumerable: some standing before the glass for hours together to adjust their dress, and to put their lips into proper shape, all endeavouring to set themselves off to the best advantage; a lady with a pedlar's shop on her neck, the gems hanging from the ears that cost enough to purchase a tolerable farm, and a gentleman passing along with such a swagger that you could winnow beans in the breeze made by the tail of his coat.

"The street of Lucre is full of oppression, extortion, and knavery of all kinds. Agents, stewards, magistrates, lawyers, doctors, merchants, shopkeepers, and all bent upon gain, and managing by hook or crook to secure it.

"In the street of Pleasure he saw gluttony and drunkenness, and still

grosser immoralities; he witnessed scenes which he did not feel at liberty to describe, and, turning away from these in disgust, he and his angel guide came upon a place where they heard a great noise, jabbering and thumping, crying and laughing, shouting and singing. 'Well,' said I, 'here is Bedlam to be sure.' When we entered the place the riot ceased, and we saw men in all manner of positions, lying amid the wreck of bottles and cups and pots and tobacco-pipes. Upon inquiry we found that seven thirsty neighbours—a tinker, a dyer, a blacksmith, a miner, a chimney-sweep, a poet, and a parson had been having a good time together. The parson had come to preach on temperance and to show in his own person the hideousness of drunkenness. A quarrel began in a dispute that had arisen among them over the question which could drink the hardest, and it was the poet who had won the field over all, but the parson who, out of respect for his coat, was voted head and chief of the merry gang. Having visited a Quakers' meeting, where all was wrong, and a Nonconformist meeting held in a barn, where a man imitated preaching by rote, frequently saying the same thing three times over, he then asked his guide, 'Where, I pray thee, is the Church of England?' 'That,' said he, 'is above, in the higher city, and constitutes a large part of the Church Catholic. But there are in this city some probationary churches belonging to the Church of England, where Welsh and English people are under training for a while to fit them to have their names written on the book of the Church Catholic; and whoever obtains that privilege, happy is he. But, alas! there are only a few who care to qualify themselves for citizenship there.'"

Such, in the late seventeenth century, was the prevailing social, moral, and intellectual condition in Wales. But Ellis Wynn's pen-pictures are not more true of Wales than of England. There can be no doubt that having in his mind's eye the medley of sects, which was much more in England than in Wales, and from England came into Wales, he paints the morals and manners of the post-Restoration periods (1660–1703; *i.e.* the reigns of Charles II., James II., William III., and Anne); and being a Conformist cleric, echoed the general anathema of the London Queen-Anne Churchmen. It is contended that these pictures are too highly coloured, and that Nonconformists have embellished them with a view of disparaging the Welsh Anglican Church, and to glorify the work of the early Methodist revivalists. As to the question of motive, it pertains not to me to follow it; my mission is to ascertain facts, analyse, and classify them. "If Wales," we are asked, "was in such a demoralised condition, how can we explain the fact that there were so

many distinguished Welshmen to be found in that period, both in Church and State?" To say that there were no learned Welshmen and no educational enterprises before the rise of Welsh Methodism would be a travesty of the truth. Welsh Calvinistic Methodism has done much for Wales, but it is not the *only* force that must be taken into account in tracing the rise and progress of modern Wales and modern Welsh Nationalism. William Salesbury published his *Introductio* in 1550. In 1567 Salesbury and Bishop Richard Davies published a Welsh translation of the Book of Common Prayer, and in the same year Salesbury published his Welsh New Testament. In 1588 Bishop Morgan gave the Welsh the whole of the Bible in their own tongue. Then there was Edmund Prys, author of the Welsh Metrical Psalms (1621), and Bishop Parry, who gave his revised edition of the Welsh Bible in 1620, and Bishop Lloyd, who published the Bible in 1690—all being Churchmen. Nonconformists likewise had some men of distinction, such as Stephen Hughes, who brought out the first complete edition of *The Welshman's Candle* — Vicar Prichard's work — in 1672, and who issued his edition of the New Testament in the same year, and the complete Bible in 1677–78. Vavasor Powell and Walter Cradoc published an edition of one thousand copies of the Bible in 1647, and an edition of six thousand in 1654–56. The majority of the Welsh aristocracy were cultivated men, and before the civil wars a number of Welshmen had found their way to the English Universities. Nevertheless, there was no national life in Wales in the first half of the seventeenth century. There was no national unity in pre-Nonconformist days, and no national ideal; the religion of the period was entirely devoid of fervency. Learning there was, but not among the body of the people. Whether their condition, socially, morally, and intellectually, was no worse than the condition of the people in England, is not material. It certainly was worse. Vicar Prichard was a loyal Churchman; of the Puritan type, it is true. Puritanism was gloomy, repressive, and severe, but not lacking in veracity. William Wroth of Llanvaches, one of the Fathers of Welsh Nonconformity, Walter Cradoc, Vavasor Powell, William Erbury,

Stephen Hughes, Morgan Llwyd "o Wynedd," and other Nonconformist pioneers, were men of sincerity, however irregular, from an Anglican view-point, may have been their proceedings. Vicar Prichard did not write for the benefit of Nonconformity. He scourged in verse what he had seen, heard, and experienced. The Wales around him was a poor country, the people very ignorant, literature was dormant, and morals were at a low ebb.

During the days of the Commonwealth, great injury was done to the cause of true religion. Many of the clergy, some of them excellent men, were unjustly deprived of their benefices. The Parliamentary forces took delight in destroying sacred buildings. For instance, they actually turned the church at Merthyr Tydvil into a stable. One Easter Day the soldiers rushed into Llandaff Cathedral, consumed the communion wine, and carried off the priest and a number of communicants to Cardiff prison. The library was ransacked, and the books burned at Cardiff, where the wives of the ejected clergy were invited to witness the deed. "The Act for the Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales," which was passed in 1650, was a highly oppressive Act, and operated injuriously upon the parish clergy. That there were ignorant and immoral clergy who were unworthy of their position, there is ample and indisputable evidence, but every clergyman who was known to be a Loyalist came under the ban of the Parliamentary men. No part of the island was more loyal to the throne than Wales, and it suffered in proportion to its loyalty. To use the Prayer Book was considered an indictable offence, and many impecunious clergy, together with their wives and families, were treated as criminals, and deprived of their bread and home. Seventy-six Commissioners were appointed under the Act to carry on the work of preaching and inquisition. Cases of drunkenness and of immorality were sought out, and even invented, against innocent and godly men like Thomas Vaughan, brother of Henry Vaughan. Abuses, many and grievous, there were, but the Cromwellian party in their zeal for reform went to extremes, and committed acts that were both cruel and unjustifiable. On March 10, 1651, a petition was sent from South Wales to Parliament, containing charges of embezzlement

against the six Commissioners of Sequestration in South Wales.

In addition to charges of dishonesty in the letting and settling of the tithes and Church livings, and misappropriation of State money, and the plunder of the gentry, they were accused of buying benefices and Church lands at the public expense, and presenting them to Independents and Presbyterians, who were established both in England and in Wales after the overthrow of the Episcopacy. It is computed that there were 975 parishes in Wales at the time, but only about 127 incumbents were allowed to remain in their livings in 1645. While such proceedings acted as a stimulant to Nonconformity and the Puritan party of the period, they show how utterly incompetent Parliament was to deal with the religious difficulty in Wales. It broke up the parochial system, and substituted an irregular and peripatetic ministry; and threw the country into a state of disorganisation, causing untold suffering to innocent and virtuous people. Our distinguished countryman, Mr. Lloyd-George, told a convention of Nonconformists that "if we have any freedom in this land to enter any place of worship, it is because its doorstep and lintel are sprinkled with the blood of Nonconformists." *Grosser exaggeration was never spoken.* That branch of Protestantism—to exclude altogether the Church of England—from which Nonconformity descends, was Puritanism. What Puritanism in its more militant form struggled for, was not liberty of everybody's conscience, but liberty for their own conscience, which is quite another thing. There were more witches burned or drowned during the Commonwealth than in all the other periods of our history put together. The Long Parliament issued a commission to deal with witches in Suffolk, which, accompanied by two distinguished Presbyterian divines appointed for the purpose, hanged no less than sixty persons, including an octogenarian Anglican clergyman, for witchcraft in a single year. This cruel story is recounted by the Nonconformist hero, Baxter, with approval. It will be said that witchcraft and heresy were different things. Then, what about the penal laws imposed by Cromwell's Puritans upon Catholics? What about the Huguenots of France, who persecuted to the full extent of

their power persons who had renounced them? In Sweden all who dissented from any Article of the Augsburg Confession were at once banished; in Protestant Switzerland many Anabaptists perished by drowning; the freethinker Sentilis perished by the axe, and Servetus in the flames. In America the colonists, driven from their own land by persecution, not only proscribed the Catholics, but persecuted the Quakers with a most atrocious severity. Luther, Calvin, Beza, and Melanchthon all wrote books on the lawfulness of persecution. True, no more blame attaches to modern Nonconformists—the Puritan descendants—for the sins of their ancestors than to the Catholics of our generation for St. Bartholomew's Day. But to claim for Nonconformity the sole right as the purveyors of toleration is a mere travesty of history. While Nonconformists speak of the sufferings—and there were intense sufferings—of those who were ejected by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, they should not forget the distress and the wanton cruelty which prevailed even in Wales under the Commonwealth.

For evidence, direct and emphatic, of the moral and intellectual condition of Wales in the early years of the eighteenth century, the *Records* of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, possess great value. The investigations of the Committee, which comprised such men as Dr. John Evans, then Bishop of Bangor, and Sir John Phillips of Picton Castle, Haverfordwest, showed how dense was the ignorance of the people and how widespread was the prevailing immorality. They sought to remedy the evil by the distribution of books and tracts, and the establishment of schools. No Welshman deserves greater honour, in this connection, than Sir John Phillips. He has never had justice done him. He it was who enabled Griffith Jones of Llanddowror to become patron of Welsh Free Schools, and gave him his sister in marriage. He fed, clothed, and educated thousands of Welsh children at his own expense, and built many schools where the poor and neglected might be instructed. His patriotic efforts have been obscured by an unaccountable, and a comparatively undue, prominence given to men of lesser light, though of equal earnestness, such as Thomas Gouge and Griffith Jones.

Then there was John Vaughan of Derllys, a patron of Welsh pietistic literature, who rendered conspicuous service to the cause of religion in the land. He distributed, in the county of Carmarthenshire alone, as many as five thousand copies of Tillotson's *Exhortation to frequent Communion.* His daughter and heiress was Madam Bevan, a great benefactress of Welsh education, and whose name is honourably associated with that of Griffith Jones in connection with the Welsh Circulating Schools. It is not necessary here to enlarge upon these and other efforts, both religious and educational, in the early eighteenth century, but they bear testimony to the intense sense of need for the reform of public morals in the Principality, and how it was sought to meet that need.

With the advent of the Calvinistic Methodist Revivalists that followed Griffith Jones's Circulating Schools, and the Act of Toleration (1689), Wales was born again into a new and a higher national consciousness—a national consciousness that has up to recent years, and especially since the Education Act of 1870, been gathering greater strength, and widening the nation's interest. Not that we have yet seen the full effects of the change that Nonconformity has brought about. It has created problems that require time, patience, courage, and sanity of judgment for their proper solution. The task that confronts Wales seems to be how to combine the racial genius of her people, the religious earnestness, and the national aspiration, with modern industrial and political developments, and the wider Imperial outlook that arises from a deepening and broadening of the Welsh mind on the side of intellectual culture. Wales resembles other countries in such characteristics as are common to all races. There is a striking parallel between different nations, both small and great—a parallel in social ideas, usages, and political instincts. But a scientific study of their history shows how each nation has pursued, almost unconsciously, an isolated and spontaneous existence. The Welsh are an octogenarian race, but its youth has been renewed, and it is fast throwing off that moroseness and selfishness which are the concomitants of old age. It is a race that has lived long, and yet is only just beginning to live, for it has only commenced the opera-

tion of mental organisation. After so many centuries of an exclusive and an unenterprising existence, the people have gone in for an exchange of ideas—an exchange that can be followed without losing anything of their national genius; and the more it is done, the more the people will prosper intellectually. Wales has stepped out of the old era into the new—the old domestic economy, the old conception of its relative position in the kingdom of the Empire, its old slavish worship of mere rank and mere wealth, and its old theological odium against ideas that are purely scientific. It is the oldest of the races in the British Isles, yet in its modern garb one of the youngest, most active, and enlightened. True, it exhibits something of the vanity and ostentation that characterise the period of youth; yet, it is as sharp, eager and practical as any of its kindred Celtic races, or even of any race which is commonly deemed more practical.

What Wales needs to know is herself—her capabilities and possibilities, and, above all, her limitations. An acorn can only produce an oak. A fig tree cannot bear olive berries. Modern Wales needs to beware of the false prophets who come to her in sheep's clothing. There can be no true stability unless there is a correspondence between political conditions and the natural endowments of a people. Wales must work out her salvation on lines that are peculiar to the genius of her people—the lines of religious culture and intellectual improvement, combined with aptitude in business and in industry. A nation governed by such instincts is a spectacle worthy of admiration, and, so far as prophecy is possible in human affairs, a nation pursuing such a course cannot go far wrong. There is more hope of such a nation than of a nation that gives itself up to the selfish pursuit of material advantages. So long as religion obtains the dominant control, there will be patriotism in the land, and with patriotism all the elements of true progress. Wales has been thinking in the past parochially and provincially: she is now thinking nationally; and it is to be hoped, for her own sake, that she may have some thought-energy left to think imperially. But the apparatus of civil government that may be wise or necessary in the case of other

units in the kingdom may not be expedient in the case of Wales. Dissimilarity in genius and in destiny, in historical associations and in the mission a particular nation may have to deliver to the world, makes a difference in the special application of general political principles. That the Welsh race has a mission there can be no doubt; it has not been preserved for nothing, and preserved in the face of such neglect and such oppressive and differentiative legislation, and even opprobrium, that might have driven a less loyal and a less religious people into open rebellion. Its mission is pre-eminently a religious one. In that sphere it has a wealth of endowment comparable to any race in the world; and to religion must be added education, literature, and the gift of political art. Its mission is not scientific, not scholastic, not artistic. We are now witnessing the earlier acts of the modern Welsh drama in the new era. The basis of the modern is not the basis of the ancient; they differ in their ambition and in their groundwork; and they will likewise differ in their glory and achievement.

CHAPTER III

REACTION AND REORGANISATION

IT should be stated that in this philosophical analysis of the reorganisation and development of Wales, I refer mostly to the religious and intellectual phenomena. The economic, educational, and political aspects are dealt with elsewhere. No interpretation could do justice to the question, that did not take into consideration the great principle of relativity. I have in Chapter I. tried to show how the remoteness of the early Welsh from all practical contact with the outside world affected their temperament, mentality, moods, and methods of living. Also, how, through the influence of industrialism, Socialism, the new learning, modern English journalism, and the influence of Anglo-Saxon thought, the Welsh outlook has been changed, and even the characteristics of the people modified. No nation presents a permanent picture; this is eminently true of Wales, especially during the last quarter of a century. Old Wales has practically disappeared. Traces of ancient local usages, customs, and traditions are becoming fainter as the years pass; many, even the majority of them, have perished unrecorded. Since the country has become a cosmos in itself, the people have been brought into correspondence with new environmental conditions; the change has brought about a new type of civilisation. This was inevitable, and not altogether to be deplored. Not only has the current of the nation's life been diverted, but its prospects and possibilities have been enhanced a hundredfold. For centuries its course had been, apparently, entirely fortuitous; the nation seemed to be the victim of an inevitable succession of events, without any guiding principle,

or any consciousness that it had a mission to deliver and a higher task to perform.

After the overthrow in 1282, respect for law and virtue, and even for the decencies of life, was to a great degree absent. But great activity in evil involves great capacity for reaction from evil. Wales affords a notable example of the truth of this psychological fact; she has not only survived, but rejuvenated herself, with tremendous suddenness; she has become an active, valuable asset, not only among her kindred Celtic races, but in the life of the kingdom. Her latter-day movements have been characterised by a consciousness, a deliberation, and a sequence, which she never knew during her long nomadic career. Viewed from the present elevation, her old schoolmasters and school days, leaders, and institutions, may appear highly primitive—even crude. They must not, however, be judged by absolute standards, nor be viewed in comparison with the social, educational, and religious institutions that exist to-day. They belong to specific periods, and must be regarded in relation to their historic environment; instead of being spoken of as hindrances to the nation's development, they should be looked upon as the necessary and natural products of the times in which they existed. They prepared the way for the present intellectual development, and for whatever degree of scientific progress there may be in store for the nation.

Wales has been criticised as not having produced knowledge of the highest kind. Could better things be expected of a nation with no educational advantages? For centuries Wales was but another name for obscurity. Less than two hundred years before the Bible was translated into Welsh, it was a criminal offence to keep Welsh children at learning, or to apprentice them to any trade in any district or town. In the various branches of science, such as astronomy, geology, physics, and the more complex science of organic nature, as well as the sphere of social science, there is not much to the credit of Wales. In the world of art also, and of creative music, her record is a poor one. The answer is, all things in their order. The problem of an old society, and that of a new society, are not the same. The early reformers had to take

the people as they found them—in a state of comparative ignorance, depravity, and superstition. Their first duty was to enlighten and to evangelise; the work of caring for the culture of the national character was to be taken up by later men differently endowed. What Wales needed, in the disorganised condition in which it was left after the Commonwealth, was intelligence and the distribution of intelligence among the people and by the people. Intelligence is a preservative force; it gives knowledge, and the capacity for knowledge. Those pioneers prepared the way for universal instruction in the first elements of intelligence; now, the people have become their own instructors. Their age was an age when general intelligence in all was better than fine culture in a few. How was this intelligence to be produced? By the preaching of the Word, by the freedom of religious and political discussion, by imparting knowledge to the people; without knowledge there can be no progress.

Among the forces working for progress, the primary place must be given to the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. This great work was performed by the Rev. Dr. William Morgan, who was made Bishop of Llandaff, 1598, and Bishop of St. Asaph, 1601. He was the son of John Morgan, of Wybernant, near Penmachno, North Wales; was born 1547, died 1604; being buried in the Cathedral chancel of St. Asaph. A statute was passed in the fifth year of Elizabeth (1563), making provision for the translation of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into Welsh. Twenty-five years elapsed before the work was completed and published. Certain penalties were to be imposed upon four Welsh Bishops and the Bishop of Hereford in case they neglected to comply with the Act. It has been supposed that the penalty had something to do with the energy and vigour thrown into the work of translation, but William Salesbury had, as far back as 1546, urged the people of Wales to petition the King and his Council for the Scriptures in Welsh. Salesbury, though of Norman descent on his father's side, was of Welsh descent on his mother's; she being one of the Pulestons of Anglesey. He was the chief translator of the first Welsh edition of the New Testament, being a man of education, and a competent

linguist. He published, besides his New Testament, many valuable works. His pamphlet, published 1550, with the view of proving that priests had lawfully married wives under the Welsh laws of Howell Dda, was the first political pamphlet printed in the Welsh language. It was in his preface to his work, entitled *Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd*, published about 1546, that he counselled the Welsh people "*to peregrinate barefooted to the throne of the King and his Council, to beg permission to have the Bible in Welsh, for the sake of those of their countrymen who did not know, and had not the opportunity to learn, English.*" The circulation of the Scriptures in England had greatly influenced the mind of Salesbury, as well as that of other Welsh scholars. The Bible had been translated into thirty-two languages before its appearance in Welsh. The Welsh translation has been pronounced by scholars as a very close translation of the original.

It is impossible to state the nature and extent of the assistance which Dr. Morgan received in the work of translation; in his Dedicatory Letter he says that he translated the whole of the Old Testament, and revised the New. Archbishop Whitgift supported him, financially and otherwise. Among other learned men who assisted him were Bishop Hughes, who occupied the See of St. Asaph from 1573 to 1600; Dr. Hugh Bellot, who was made Bishop of Bangor, 1585, and afterwards translated to Chester; Dr. Gabriel Goodman, a native of Ruthin, who was made Dean of Westminster, 1561—Dr. Goodman translated the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the Bishops' Bible, 1568, and it was at Dr. Goodman's house at Westminster that Dr. Morgan lived while his work was being printed; Dr. Richard Vaughan, a native of Cefn Amlwch in Lleyn, who was made Bishop of Bangor in 1595, Bishop of Chester, 1597, and translated to London, 1604; Edmund Prys, born 1541, the son of John Prys, of Tyddyn Du, Maentwrog, who became Archdeacon of Merioneth, 1576, and a Canon of St. Asaph, 1602. Prys was the author of a metrical translation of the Psalms, a work of great value, and which had already been attemped by other Welshmen. His success was due to the fact that he translated them in the free metres, which the people understood. Another was Dr. David Powell, born

about 1550, once vicar of Ruabon, and who died 1598; he was a noted antiquary and divine, in his day, and the author of several important works, chief among them being his *Historie of Cambria*, published 1584. Several revised and improved editions have since been published. It should be stated that the revised edition of the Welsh Bible, published in 1620 by Dr. Richard Parry, is the standard version. There are no records to show how many copies of the Welsh Bible, by Dr. Morgan, were printed. There were at the time, roughly speaking, about a thousand parish churches, and it is probable that about an equal number of copies were printed. It was provided in the Act that copies of the Welsh Bible and Prayer Book were to be kept in every parish throughout Wales. It provided also that copies of an English Bible and an English Prayer Book were to be kept in the same parish churches. They were "to remain in such convenient places within the said churches, that such as understand them may resort at all convenient times to read and peruse the same; and also such as do not understand the said language may, by conferring both tongues together, the sooner attain to the knowledge of the English tongue, anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding" (Eliz. 5, chap. xxviii.). It need hardly be said that the translation of the Bible into the vernacular profoundly affected the whole course of the nation's life. It was almost the only extensive work which was then accessible to the people in their own language. It has since occupied a pre-eminent place in the home and Sunday-school life of the Principality.

In what direction are we to look for the influence of the Welsh Bible? Emphasis has been placed upon the fact that it preserved the Welsh language from extinction, and that it gave a new impetus to the literature of the country. But that is not the chief service that the Bible has rendered to the Welsh nation. Its chief value lies in the fact that it stood between the people and aggressive selfishness; between the poor and the powers that kept them under. It gave the labourer his freedom, and the artisan his rights; it instilled into the national consciousness the sense of equity, justice, and righteousness, and gave the people a current of abstract and philosophic

thought. The commonalty had no rights, no privileges, and no instruction; their outlook was narrow and circumscribed. Here, at least, was a book that was the very home of a true democracy, and the very temple of liberty. It was the common people's book, and no class needed it more; in it was courage and humanity, the might and power of hope for the down-trodden. The voice that came to the people through the Bible was the voice of freedom, and its message was a message of hope. Great as is the service rendered religiously by the Welsh Bible to the Welsh people, it is not greater than the service which it rendered socially, mentally, and politically. In contrast to the local exclusiveness of their mental vision, the Bible gave them great concepts of vastness. To the ground-down peasant it taught the intrinsic dignity of man, as well as his individual rights. It appealed to his intellect, and gave that intellect an interest, and an activity, that has brought the nation a new name and a new life; gave him ideas which have asserted themselves in many notable ways; acted as a bond of union between the respective communities, and gave harmony of action to the common people; proved a restraining force upon the vicious and the lawless; mitigated the despotic tendencies of temporal rulers; in brief, the Bible nationalised the nation. We must not, however, confound the economic and political state of the country with its religious state. In spite of the enormous influence of the Bible, the evolution of the Welsh State has been a slow process.

The Welsh have earned a reputation for Bibliolatry; to them the Bible has been not only authoritative, but infallible—the rock upon which the Church, the Faith, and even Christianity are founded; a Book in which there is no admixture of human error. They have forced it into a position of unwarrantable authority in religion, an authority which belongs to no other but Jesus Christ Himself. The Bible did not create religion, any more than mental philosophy created the mind; the Bible is the geography of religion. The truths of religion are organic and constitutional; they have their elements in human nature; the Bible is not the authority for religion—*that* is in every man's own nature. The character of right and wrong; the sense of need, guilt, and obligation;

the instinct of fear, gratitude, and worship are inherent in human nature. The only thing we cannot trace to the inherent nature of man is the mechanical and doctrinal form of worship. The divinity of the Bible lies in the fact that its teachings are adapted to the moral wants of man; that is the reason why it will always be true and will always be wanted.

It is a melancholy fact that there prevails in Wales at this hour, especially among the rising generation, the most appalling ignorance of the Bible, even among those who seek entrance into the Christian ministry. The Bible is not read by the commonalty in Wales; it is not read much even among many who live by it; the daily paper and politics have taken its place. It is not appreciated as a necessary factor in the formation of the national character; it is not appreciated even for the grandeur of its literature and noble ideals of life and conduct. The result is that education, which has now passed from the study to the street, has deepened the prevailing indifference. The Bible, and some form of instruction in it, were never more needed in the day schools of Wales than at present. Welsh parents have, to all intents and purposes, dethroned the Bible, and materialism is spreading with great rapidity. It is fast changing the old Welsh standard of moral and spiritual values. Wales is being threatened by secularisation on every side. It is a curious fact, that those who object to the teaching of the Bible in the day schools do not object to, but advocate, the teaching of it in prisons. The obvious answer is that if there was more Bible teaching in our day schools there would be less need for teaching it in our prisons.

Next to the translation of the Bible is the free circulation of it. Who made the first attempt? It was the Rev. Thomas Gouge, an English clergyman, who, in the year 1674, gave up his living in London for that purpose. This consecrated man spent his own money, raised subscriptions, bought and distributed thousands of books, and placed the Bible in the hands of the Welsh people; he also established hundreds of schools. In the founding of those schools he had two objects in view: the one was to teach the young to read and

write, and to give them a knowledge of religion; the other was to provide free religious books for the aged poor in their native language. About forty free schools had been founded in the days of the Commonwealth, and a third part of the tithe was appropriated towards their maintenance, but with the restoration of the Episcopacy this portion of the tithe was recovered, and was once more used for its original purposes. It was at this juncture that Gouge appeared, and he was the means, through the charity schools which he founded, of providing instruction for thousands of young men and children. Gouge died 1680.

Generous reference should be made to the work of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698. From that date to 1738 the Society gave great impetus to the movement for popular education among the Welsh people of those times. There were several Welshmen on the Committee—Sir John Phillips, Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, and Dr. John Evans, then Bishop of Bangor. The objects of the Society were to reform the moral condition of the people, distribute religious books in both English and Welsh, print Welsh Bibles, and distribute them among the poor, arranging a system of free parochial schools and endowing them, providing free libraries in the various parishes, with four central libraries in each diocese. The records of this Society serve to show what the Church of England in Wales accomplished for the education and reformation of the people during that very important period ranging from 1698 to 1730. It has been taken for granted by Welshmen in general that the movement for popular education in Wales to bring the people to a knowledge of religion was primarily the work of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror. On the contrary, the movement began among the Welsh Puritans, 1649–60, it was taken up by Thomas Gouge and those who were associated with him, 1670–98, and continued by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1698–1738, and up to the present time. The records of the Society go to show that there was a free school at Llanddowror some years before Griffith Jones went there; they also establish the fact that the Communion offerings in many of the Welsh churches were given to charity

schools before the year 1730. By the end of 1701 the Society in question had extended its operations to every county in Wales, and English and Welsh charity schools had been established throughout the length and breadth of the land. The clergy as well as the laity of the Church were active participators in the movement. In addition to this was the establishment of Dr. Bray's libraries in all parts of Wales, which contained collections of the best available literature bearing on theology and kindred subjects. They were of great service to the poorer section of the clergy. Two large editions of the Welsh Bible were published and sold at a price which came within the reach of the masses.

Sixty years after Gouge came Griffith Jones; that was in the year 1730. He won the sympathy of Madam Bevan, a rich lady, and by her aid he was able to accomplish immense good, through the establishment of "circulating schools." On the Saturday preceding the monthly Sacrament days, he used to hold a preparatory service, at which he catechised those who were desirous of partaking of that sacred ordinance; the result showed the most painful ignorance. In 1730 he opened a school in his own parish, where young and old were taught to read the Scriptures; other schools of the same kind were established in different parts of the country, Mr. Jones selecting and paying the schoolmasters. They went about from place to place, staying in one locality a few months at a time; hence, the schools were called "circulating schools." At the death of Mr. Jones, 1761, these schools numbered two hundred and eighteen, and not less then ten thousand people had been taught, in a single year, to read the Bible. Unfortunately, after his death these schools ceased to exist, in consequence of the conduct of one of Madam Bevan's trustees, into whose care she had entrusted the sum of about £7000. This trustee possessed himself of the property which Madam Bevan had left for the benefit of the schools; legal proceedings were instituted, but thirty years elapsed before the charity came again into effect.

Worthy as all these efforts were in the direction of reformation, yet they lacked one vital element—fervour. The Anglican services were cold and formal; Nonconformity

likewise was devoid of zeal. The great work done at the beginning of the century had not borne full fruit, for the reason that it had not touched the spiritual instinct which lies so deeply in the Welsh nature. The people needed education, but they also needed *life*. The fuel was there, and Griffith Jones set it on fire. The awakening came through the emotions; in its intensity and effects it has been compared to the awakening in Scotland in the sixteenth century. The revival is associated primarily with the name of Griffith Jones, though it was Howell Harris, and Rowland of Llangeitho, that brought the movement to fruition. The heat began to radiate, and it continued to radiate, changing the whole economy of the people's life. From this dates the rise of Welsh Methodism.

In order to have a right understanding of the movement, it is indispensable to look into the character and mental attitude of these early Welsh revivalists, for they were the first factors, or the ferment, that decided in which direction Welsh society was going to move. It is to the personal rather than to the general elements we have to look for the source and early evolution of Welsh religious life. Modern Welsh history is essentially biographical. As Sigwart (in his *Logic*, vol. ii p. 441, Eng. trans.) says: "Psychical events in men are the kernel of history." I do not mean to imply that the spiritual sense was not immanent. Such psychical events are neither possible nor intelligible apart from the spiritual, and even the social, environment that supports them. But the key to the movement is to be found among those who brought into it an interaction of elements working for progress. In the process of time different national spirits imparted a variety of ideas, methods, moral perceptions, and creeds that emphasised different, and apparently opposite, aspects of the truth. But in the interrelated activities of the various national leaders, the principle of progress was always manifest; and progress, though not uniform, was continuous. Seemingly there was but little conscious, and less concerted, purpose in the evolution of the nation during its initiatory stages. Prejudices of doctrine, of association, and of sectarianism were constantly introducing elements of discord. Yet, amid the apparent

conflict of interests, there was one dominant line through it all. It would be false to say that we can explain all the characteristic features of Welsh evolution by its spiritual history. It would be true to say that Welsh religion forms the chief constituent factor. The impulse that breathed life into the body of the people was a religious impulse. It was under the inspiration of that impulse that ideals grew and multiplied, were modified and enriched. It was under the same impulse that self-conscious purpose came to dominate the movement, and the development proceeded. By development I mean the transition from potential to actual existence. Not that the ends which ultimately became the objects of the conscious endeavour of the leaders, and of the nation, were all latent in the earlier, or the very earliest, stages. The development reached proportions never anticipated either by those who consciously, or unconsciously, participated in it, as well as of those who merely witnessed it from afar. It is true that the backward state of the nation in the social sciences, and in the realm of material civilisation, is not a little due to the abnormal development of the national religious consciousness. Of late years there has been a larger interaction of other elements—industrial, social, and partly scientific. The religious movement created wants and aspirations, and opened up problems that will take generations to solve.

As I have already stated, a thorough understanding of this modern Welsh awakening is impossible, apart from a knowledge of the men who were its source, medium, and inspiration.

Howell Harris was born 1714, at Trevecca, in the parish of Talgarth, Breconshire. He spent one term at Oxford, and became an itinerant preacher in 1736. In 1752 he established, partly at his own expense, a brotherhood, or, as he called it, "Family of families," and which in later years developed into a college. He was a friend of Whitefield and of John and Charles Wesley, and the chief link between English and Welsh Methodism. His many-sidedness was extraordinary. He certainly is a great landmark in Welsh history; he drew thousands around him who, otherwise, would have had no religious instruction and no consolation. His voice

was heard throughout the land, and his coming was an event. He quickened the minds of those who heard him, in little country hamlets and towns, with a force that has lasted until this day; he leavened the mind of the nation. Preaching was not as fashionable in Wales then as now. Howell Harris was mobbed, beaten with sticks, pelted with rotten eggs, and so shamefully maltreated that he was once picked up for dead. On one occasion a pistol was fired at him, and intoxicating liquors were distributed among the mob in order to excite their passions. The clergy denounced Harris from the pulpit, and the whole weight of the Episcopate was against him. The Chancellor of the diocese of Bangor, at the time, stirred up entire districts in opposition. The ecclesiastical authorities regarded with aversion any encroachment on their authority, and on what they were pleased to term their rights. In the light of the present, their opposition to the movement, and especially the character of that opposition, is indefensible, both on the ground of policy and of justice. Still Anglicanism, to be consistent, was bound to oppose the irregularities of Harris, just as every other religious body is jealous of any infringement of its orders. Harris was no theologian, and he spoke of the "blood of God"; and Peter Williams was reputed to be a semi-Arian. But the Methodist "schism" was not heretical, for it set its seal on the doctrines, creeds, Bible, and all that is of the faith of the Anglican Church. However objectionable some of Harris's methods may have been, and the methods of those who co-operated with him, it should be stated that they bore courageous witness to many positive Christian truths. Through long probation and trial, even violent opposition, without expecting or receiving any reward, they manifested the most disinterested love towards men, and gave unmistakable proof of what religion was in its practical form. Harris was no visionary or fanatic; true, he was not the only leader in the eighteenth century, but his work as a revivalist and organiser formed an important part in the inception of Welsh Methodism.

Very curious was it how wide was the scope of his attraction. The establishment of Harris's "Social Community" at Trevecca forms an interesting link in the story

of the industrial revolution in Wales. It was the precursor of Robert Owen's industrial experiments; the Breconshire Agricultural Society, which was originated at the suggestion of Howell Harris, was the first to apply scientific methods to Welsh industries. At one time, Harris captained a militia corps throughout East and South-West Britain, to help to keep in check the invasion threatened by Romanist France. He established a religious community at Trevecca, though there were other religious societies in Wales before his days. He borrowed the idea from the Pietists in Germany, the *Collegia Pietatis*, or the *Ecclesiola in Ecclesia*, begun by Spener, and propagated by Franck and others, who were the means of kindling the Pietistic revival. Dr. Anthony Hornbeck, who came over from Germany and was given a benefice in the Metropolis, was one of the chief instruments in founding religious societies in London towards 1677–78. Dr. Joseph Woodward wrote a small book giving an account of the rules and constitution of these societies. Thousands of copies of Dr. Woodward's little book were distributed throughout England and Wales from 1700 onwards. A copy of it fell into the hands of Howell Harris, and it was according to the constitution and rules of Dr. Woodward's book that Harris formed his first societies. Harris formed the first Methodist Society at Werneos, a farm in Llandyvalle parish, Breconshire, about May 1737; he met Whitefield in 1739, and helped to spread the religious revival in parts of England as well as in Wales. In 1743 Welsh Methodism was organised, and the first Association held at Watford.

In 1745 there were signs of disruption between Harris and the other Methodist leaders, and in 1751 he broke off from Methodism as an organisation. In 1752 he established the Religio-Industrial Community at Trevecca; in 1754 woolspinning was commenced. In 1755 Harris appealed to Sir Edward Williams, of Gwernyfed, to start a Breconshire Agricultural Society; the rules of the Trevecca "Family" were formulated in 1756. Owing to the threatened French invasion, Harris at this time offered to equip ten men, five of whom left Trevecca and joined Anstruther's Army, fought under Wolfe at Quebec, and afterwards at the siege of

Havannah. Hugh Davies, the only survivor, returned to Trevecca in 1763. In 1759 Howell Harris joined the Breconshire Militia, on the condition that he be permitted to preach. He took twenty-four men with him from Trevecca, and was himself made ensign, and later a captain, under Sir Edward Williams. From 1760 to 1763 he was with the Militia at Yarmouth, Bideford, Torrington, and other places; he returned to Trevecca after the Peace of Paris. In 1767 he superintended the transformation of Trevecca Isaf farmhouse into a college building (opened the following year for Lady Huntingdon). In 1769 occurred the first anniversary of Lady Huntingdon's College, and Howell Harris, after seventeen years' seclusion, met his former friends of the Methodist Revival, and remained on friendly terms with them till his death. In 1842 the building at Trevecca was bought by the South Wales Calvinistic Methodist Association, and opened as a theological college; in 1847 William James, the last of Howell Harris's family, died. During the time Harris was stationed with his regiment at Great Yarmouth he founded a church there, which is still in existence. It is an instructive fact that while Harris started as the preacher and organiser of Welsh Methodism, he remained a faithful adherent of the Church of England till his death, which took place in the year 1773. He was buried in the presence of twenty thousand people.

Daniel Rowland was the son of a Welsh Anglican clergyman. He was born 1713, at Pant-y-Beudy, near Llangeitho, ordained at the age of twenty, and for a period of twenty-five years served as curate in his native county of Cardiganshire. He was possessed of great pulpit qualities, and his fame spread far and wide. There is a tradition that the revival broke out while Rowland was reading the Litany. It is impossible to decide what historical foundation there may be for the supposition. If true, it shows what wealth of spiritual power there is stored up in the heart of the Church. His services were greatly in demand in his own and other counties. In the year 1763 Bishop Squire cancelled his licence, because he had preached in unconsecrated places, and had spent so much of his time out of his own parish, preaching

to other congregations. A large meeting-house was built for Rowland at Llangeitho, where he ministered during the remainder of his life, being in close connection with the Calvinistic Methodists. Such was his eloquence, that persons were known to travel a distance of a hundred miles to hear him preach. It was no uncommon occurrence for three thousand communicants to be present on a Sunday morning. His influence extended to the remotest part of the Principality. He died 1790.

Who were the men that perpetuated the efforts of Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland? It is evident that I need only quote a few typical and dominant personalities in order to illustrate the principle which I am seeking to establish.

Notable among them was the Rev. David Jones of Llangan, the Revivalist preacher, whose voice was heard throughout the whole of South Wales and Monmouthshire, and even in England. He was born at Aberceilog farm, Llanllwni, Carmarthenshire, on July 10, 1736, and, educated at Carmarthen, was ordained in 1758. Having held the curacies of Llanafanfawr (Breconshire), Tydweilog (Carnarvonshire), Trefethin and Caldicot (Monmouthshire), where he first manifested his religious fervour, he took curacies near Bristol and in Wiltshire. When at the last place he made the acquaintance of Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, through whose recommendation he was, in 1768, made vicar of Llangan (Glamorgan). After his second marriage he went to live at his wife's home at Manorowen (Pembrokeshire), and here he remained till his death. Soon after going to Llangan he identified himself with the evangelical party in South Wales, of which Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho was the leader, and became a regular attendant at meetings of the Welsh Methodist Association, which had been founded by Whitefield's aid, in 1742. He subsequently visited Lady Huntingdon's College at Trevecca, and was a constant preacher at her chapels, particularly at that in Spa Fields (London), where, at her death, in 1791, he preached the funeral sermon. David Jones closely identified himself with the Methodist reformers. He was in the habit of attending their quarterly meetings and associations; he even presided

over them, and helped in the arrangement made to build chapels in various localities. What a striking contrast to the relationship now existing between Anglicanism and Nonconformity! He witnessed no less than five revivals during his public life, and among the distributers of their influences he occupies a historic place. Most of his journeyings were accomplished on horseback; it is therefore surprising to find the long distances he covered during his preaching missions. He was not an advocate of the severance of the Calvinistic Methodists from the Church; he even severely criticised his contemporaries' advocacy of it. His loyalty to the Established Church was beyond question, though he felt it his duty, during his itineraries, to put in an appearance at the various Methodist societies and associations, and even to preach in their chapels. It was not until 1811 that the disruption was complete. He died on Sunday, August 12, 1810.

Rhys Davies, or "Rhys Goesbren" (= Wooden Leg), is another of the early itinerant preachers who did the spade-work of progress. A totally different type of man from David Jones of Llangan, he is still an element to be reckoned with in the evolution of the people's religion. He was one of the rough hewers, sent forth to open up the furrows; giving his age what he had received—humour, eccentricity, fervour, and, above all, reality. He was a good preacher, said Kilsby Jones, if one did not look at him, such were his contortions. His violent bursts of denunciation against the drinking habits of his countrymen gave him notoriety; in this, as in other unpopular aspects of his preaching, Rhys, like many of his brethren, had to face much obloquy. But the people took them gladly. A great number of men and women of the middle and lower-middle classes, who formed the body of Dissent in those days, became their adherents. Out of their own slender incomes, and in spite of opposition, they covered the land with chapels. It was more difficult then than now to obtain sites for the erection of Nonconformist places of worship; the objection being that there was enough room in the parish churches. Here we have the strange spectacle of a growing reluctance on the part of a large number of people to avail themselves of the ministrations of the Anglican Church,

with all its pecuniary influence, power, and even learning; preferring the ministrations of illiterate lay preachers. The reasons were ethical rather than doctrinal or constitutional. It is also accounted for by the impolitic alliance between the Church and the landowning classes—an alliance which still exists in many Welsh parishes, and that to the detriment of the best interests of the clergy, the Church, and the landowners. To see a landowner constantly carrying an Anglican clergyman on his back was not an edifying spectacle, and, as history teaches, it has been highly injurious to both. These itinerant preachers, crude as they often were, had something to impart to plain men and women. Rhys Davies scarcely ever preached without being blessed with converts. It was under the influence of his preaching that Williams of the Wern, one of the great landmarks in the religious annals of Wales, was converted.

Williams formed a complete contrast to his father in the faith: Rhys was essentially an eccentric lay preacher; Williams was one of the leaders of religious thought of his time, a man who created a new period in the preaching and the theology of Wales. He combined in himself the philosopher, the metaphysician, and the orator. Like all the foremost Nonconformist preachers, his style was the conversational; his magnificent voice could be heard with ease by an audience of 10,000 at an open-air meeting, without a single sentence or inflection in his rhythmical delivery being missed.

John Elias was a contemporary of Williams, and a master in the art of eloquence. He had the gift of presenting the profoundest truths of Christianity in the clearest light, so that the most untrained audiences felt that they understood him, even when they could not follow his thinking.

Christmas Evans, who is always linked with these two celebrities, is a striking instance of the various degrees of spiritual culture that made up the progressive forces in the early life of the Principality. He had a voice of large compass and delightful musical resonance. In sustained flights of imagination he was unequalled as a preacher. Imagination in him was in a sort of wild and fearful luxuriance.

Most of the preachers were unattached; "trampers" who

were paid a paltry pittance, which often degenerated into charity. Indeed, down to a late period, it was considered not only improper, but sinful, to accept any payment for preaching. They had but few sermons, about half a dozen, which did from the John-o'-Groat to the Land's End of Wales. They were elaborated both as to matter and style; nothing forgotten, and nothing mistimed. The influence they wielded over the people was great. That influence may be traced to several causes: namely, the extreme inflammability of the people, their ignorance, the absence of newspapers and reading material, and the dearth of other objects of interest. There were not in those days any national games or places of amusement, beyond the village and town fairs and wedding festivities. The pulpit was the only means of religious knowledge available to the masses, and Welsh material civilisation was in a very backward state. Such facts should be taken into consideration in estimating the difference between the authority of the Welsh pulpit of fifty or sixty or a hundred years ago, with the pulpit authority of to-day. It may also be stated that the subject-matter of their discourses and the character of the treatment suited both the tastes and the capacity of the Welsh of those days. The tragic aspect of life appealed to their own temperament, and to that of the people. Hence the fact that they so often discoursed upon such themes as the crucifixion, the atonement, and the judgment to come. Dramatic awakenings were common, and conversion by upheaval bore the hall-mark of divinity. The English Puritan pulpit was the great mine whence all the noted Welsh preachers of the nineteenth century quarried their materials, but none the less creditable to them is the use they made of them. They got the ore from abroad and smelted it in their own well-heated furnaces. This was especially true of Christmas Evans, who borrowed almost all his similes from Saxon Puritan divines. Their theology, or creed, they likewise borrowed. They simply accepted it ready-made from English Puritanism and European Protestantism. Except in the case of regeneration in baptism (held by the Anglican Church), the creed held by Nonconformity is the same as that held by the Anglican Church.

The days of the early Welsh reformers were stern days; and their discipline was as austere as their theology. Such were their Sabbatarian views, that one Joseph Davies, of Llys Aled, was expelled from the Nonconformist communion for walking over the hills from Cerrigydrudion home on Sunday morning to see his wife, who had been reported dying. John Elias and the Jewin Crescent Church, London, expelled a number of members because they petitioned Parliament in favour of Catholic emancipation. So with the Gospel they preached, it was that of the fan, the axe, and eternal torment. The essential principles of their creed were the doctrines of election, predestination, and a limited atonement; the infallibility of the Scriptures, plenary inspiration, and the Divinity of Christ. The material side of heaven, with the streets of gold, harps, flowers, music, and eternal repose, was given great prominence. Hell was made a dismal place of torment, with its sulphur, flames, thirst, horrid spectres, and everlasting duration. It gave pre-eminence to the personal motive—the purification and perfection of the individual soul. It magnified the conception of God—on the side of His justice, holiness, and righteousness; God, whose nature was uncreated and unchangeable, existing always, everywhere, and in all things, whose chief end was to promote His own glory. They preached Him as a mighty potentate, the Judge, from the loftiness of whose commands and judicial sentences there was no escape. It was a narrow conception, and in one sense a perverted conception, for it separated this august and exclusive view of God from all that is loving and tender in His nature, and rested the idea of His sovereignty solely upon His justice and righteousness. It was the keynote of the intellectual system, upon which Calvinistic Methodism was founded. It degraded the conception of human nature, making it inherently corrupt, misanthropic, and incapable of any good. The ransom theory of the Atonement was a very distinctive feature of that theology. By the sin of Adam the human race had become the legal possession of Satan. Satan was willing to give up his claim, if a ransom could be found; it was found in Christ, and the race was set free; Satan found that he could not keep Him; for, being Divine, He escaped, loosened the bonds of

death, and returned to heaven. The Atonement was a trade between God and Satan. God treated His perfect Son as if He were guilty of the world's transgressions, and Christ's death and perfect righteousness were to be credited to those who believe, without regard to their actual merits. Righteousness was transferable; moral penalty was transferable. Christ's sufferings were penal, and penal owing to the conflict between the claims of justice and of mercy in the Divine mind; His death was an indispensable condition of human salvation.

The condition of the Welsh mind at that time offered such a theology a favourable condition to development. The people had been for centuries in a state of intellectual despair. The Reformation, which placed Scotland on her feet, did not penetrate Wales. The Welsh had lost their cherished liberty, and their passion for it. Llywelyn, their great Prince and vindicator, was no more. A sense of their own impotence had come home to the people, and a creed that made God all in all in the matter of salvation had a peculiar charm for them.

We find this type of theology reflected in the literary activities, both prose and imaginative, which sprang up after the Revival. There is the same concept of God—stern, righteous, wrathful, and monarchical; the same concept of man—depraved, helpless, and incapable of following the dictates of an enlightened self-interest; the same concept of the Atonement—exclusive and limited to the elect; the same concept of salvation—some predestined to eternal happiness, and others to eternal misery. With the opening of the nineteenth century there came a reaction against these Calvinistic dealings with the supernatural, and its emphasis of the diabolic element in human nature. The reaction embraced a revolt against the sharp line which Calvinism had drawn between sacred and secular, and the literal method of expounding the account of creation in the Book of Genesis. Within its scope were the Jewish Sabbatarian views, often so inhuman in their application, and which demonstrated the danger of maintaining the equal value, as inspired revelation, of every part of Scripture.

Not that there was a general or a violent break with the

current creed. "The new School," as it was disparagingly called, did nevertheless cause trouble in the Churches, and proved a source of grief to the old Calvinists, who took active means to prevent the spread of what they called "heresy." The chief exponents of "the new School" were to be found among the Independents (Congregationalists), though distinct traces of that reaction were found more or less among all sections; and it has been sustained up to this day. The old Calvinistic watchwords of those times have lost their former force, and the body of the nation has broken away from the narrow groove into which Calvinism had moulded the Welsh mind. The German element finds a growing place in the sermonic literature of Wales, and the pulpit has been compelled to go for light and leading to the more modern sources that are beyond the confines of the Principality. That side of human nature which finds expression in Art and the Drama, and which the old Calvinism suppressed, is being cultivated more and more; though in a strictly theological sense it may be said that the Welsh pulpit of the twentieth century is moderately Calvinistic. If we take out of the history of the Welsh nation what has been wrought for it by Calvinism, there is not much left worth talking about. This terrific doctrine gripped the national conscience, and placed restraints upon the individual; the rigorous discipline involved in such a creed, caused men to move under the sanction of the highest conscience.

This great religious awakening has been interpreted as a separatist movement arising out of the reaction against the parlous state of the Anglican Church of that age, and the elaborate ceremonialism of the seventeenth century. Even in these enlightened times, we find this view reiterated constantly, and chiefly for political considerations. To propose to disestablish and to disendow the Church is serious enough in itself, but it is not necessary to pervert history in order to accomplish that end. It would be more correct to designate the movement as a reform movement within the Church itself. The Revival was begotten in the Church, and continued in the Church for many years. "They are breaking my heart," said David Jones of Llangan, one of the pioneers of the movement,

when referring to the men who clamoured for separation and "schismatic" ordination. It was not until 1811 that Welsh Methodism finally broke with the Church, and began to ordain their own ministers to administer the Sacrament. The Bishop who deprived Daniel Rowland of his three churches did not understand the reform movement, neither did he appreciate the needs of the Church he thought he was defending. As a real Churchman Howell Harris could not tolerate the idea of leaving the Church; he was only doing Church work, he thought. Harris and Rowland saw more with their eyes than did the official leaders of the Church. The great Church idea that obsessed the latter was Parochialism; the moment they got rid of that, societies multiplied in the Church, and spread throughout the various parishes. But it was too late to save the Methodist Society from leaving its own home. Parochialism is both a protection and a hindrance; it is becoming more difficult in its operation, and in our large cities the system is largely breaking down. As an ideal it is excellent, and to it the Church owes much of its power and usefulness.

That the separation between the early reformers and the Anglican Church of which they were the offspring, and to which they were devoutly attached even to the end, was a loss to the Church in Wales, there cannot be any doubt. It cost her the leadership; it deprived her of some of her best elements, and greatly circumscribed both her prestige and influence in the Principality. Equally serious was the loss to those who left the Mother Church, for it meant losing touch with all that catholic truth, tradition, learning, unity, and outlook signify. All separation means loss; this is true of the English Church in its relation to Rome, and of the Churches of the East and of the West. As to the effect of the separation upon Wales itself, upon the progress of education, and the spread of intelligence among the people at large, there can be no doubt that it has been beneficial. The organisation of Nonconformity is the very antithesis of the organisation of the Church. The latter starts with the bishops, descending to the people, whereas the former begins with the people. The two conceptions are radically opposed

and irreconcilable. The increasing hold of the Nonconformist system upon the Welsh mind was due partly, if not chiefly, to the democratic basis upon which it was founded; partly to the intense earnestness of the men who initiated it, and partly to the style and subject-matter of their preaching. They were men endowed with the gift of utterance—often incoherent and utterly devoid of academic qualities; it was, however, a style of utterance that appealed to the people. The freedom, zeal, and fervency that characterised the Nonconformist form of worship were more in accordance with the Welsh temperament. Nonconformity appeared more nearly to the old Welsh tribal idea as to the mutual relationship of the people and the religious bodies.

In so far as the awakening under Harris and Rowland may be regarded as a *protest*, it was quite as much of a protest against mixed doctrines as it was against the prevailing indifference of the clergy, and the spirit of formalism which had paralysed the effectiveness of the Church. Those reformers called themselves "Calvinistic Methodists" in contradistinction to the Arminian Methodists of England. They adhered to the creed of the Church of England, though in its Calvinistic sense; and they received strong additional support from such men as Charles of Bala and Thomas Jones of Denbigh. It was a theological as well as a religious movement. Rowland stood for the doctrine of Divine Grace, and it explains, in a large measure, the rapid growth of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales at that period. The Arminian controversy began in 1729, and continued up to the end of the eighteenth century. A considerable number of Dissenters had embraced Pelagianism, which led to Arminianism, and out of Arminianism came Arianism, and finally Unitarianism. Arminian theories prevailed among the different sects, and the Anglican Church itself was disposed in the same direction. It was strong in the county of Cardigan when the Revival broke out. Cardiganshire was the hotbed of the controversy; its effects were highly injurious, for it gave rise to various secessions and endless discussions.

As to the periodicity of Welsh revivals, their number and characteristics, I have dealt with that in my work on the

Revival of 1904–5, entitled *A Retrospect and a Criticism.* Up to the sixteenth century, revivals had to be considered on a European plane; there were large movements, covering extensive ground, deeply affecting the history, not of one, but of many nations. From the sixteenth century downward, we find the old unity destroyed, and Europe breaking up into different nationalities. The Reformation was the main instrument in the destruction of this unity. By reducing the control of Rome, it divided Europe, and prepared the way for the creation of various Principalities, such as the Swiss Confederacy and the Netherlands Republic. Since then the smaller nationalities have formed their own worlds, each differing in constitution, in the character of its people, and in the drift of its development, and therefore in its *necessities.* Though it cannot be said of all Welsh revivals, yet it may be said of some, and especially that of the eighteenth century, that they synchronised with positive development towards nationhood, and prepared the way for a larger intellectual development. It is a truth of history and a truth of psychology that religion in its proper conception feeds the intellect. Wesley and his preachers were fertilisers of the English mind; so was John Knox and the Reformers in Scotland.

What did the religious awakening of the eighteenth century do for Wales? It gave the nation what it needed—*vitality.* Here we have a people gifted with intelligence, with great fertility of thought, with powers of speech and of song, with moral sentiment, and with genius—gifts that should have led them upwards, lying dormant for centuries. The only elements that seemed to have a superfluity of action were their passions. All nations, like all men, are responsible for duty, and responsibility is measured by the proportion of ability; the more ample the endowment, the greater the responsibility; the larger the nature, the severer the penalty for the liberty that is taken with it. If a nation has ten talents, then ten talents are required of it. The Welsh nation is among the ten-talented nations — largely uncultivated. Vitality had been the one great staying quality of the race; checked, forced hither and thither, defeated and humiliated,

yet rising again and again with renewed energy. If the nation's existence depended upon its knowledge, civilisation, or even its military aptitude, it could not have preserved its identity. The loss of independence, or semi-independence, was comparatively unimportant by the side of the loss of vitality; for with that loss there came the loss of the love of learning and of liberty; of the passion for its language and its literature; of its passion for industry and agriculture; of its morals and ideals, until it reached the low-water mark of its career as a race. The maxim that genius has a right to choose held great sway in Wales for generations. To say that the Welsh are more spiritual than moral is not meant as a reflection, but as a statement of fact. It is the physiological and psychological sequence of antecedent causes. It is a law of the individual and of society. All nations, like all men, who sin against their own purity, set in motion a line of causes which go on working down through many generations, restricting their usefulness and limiting their power, both of receiving and of giving high influences. The loss of civilisation is a loss of the power to take on civilisation. Nations, like men, are crippled by the non-use and the mis-use of hereditary qualities. Vitality had to come to the nation before knowledge. To offer it education, at that stage of its life, would be like casting pearls before swine; and vitality could only come under the stimulus of emotion. This is what the early revivals did: they set the fuel on fire; the heat had to radiate, and it did radiate, changing the whole economy of their life. With the restoration of its vitality came the restoration of some of the qualities that went with it into apathy and obscurity—its love of learning, passion for music, devotion to literature, cultivation of religion, and undeflected national life.

It is a striking fact that the restoration of the nation's vitality did not bring with it a restoration of its martial spirit. During the time of their independence Welsh glory was chiefly the glory of military prowess. Nationhood, they thought, was to come through independence, and achievement through conquest. The ancient Cymry practically spent the whole of their life in fighting; true, it was fighting of the guerilla kind —ambuscades, night marches, subterfuges, and secret plotting.

Such were the main features of their military operations. The open field of battle they avoided as much as possible. Since the overthrow in 1282 the Welsh have ceased to cultivate their martial virtues of more ancient times. They are proud when Welshmen distinguish themselves in arms, though war has ceased to have an attraction for them. This is especially true of the Nonconformist bodies, which form the predominant power in the Principality. They do not even recognise, in any practical sense, their duty as citizens to defend their shores. Imperialism, even on its preservative side, is a matter of indifference to them. In no country is soldiery, as a career, held in greater disesteem than among the Welsh-speaking population of the Principality of Wales. Welshmen, apparently, do not know, or rather do not wish to know, that every one nowadays leaves the ranks a better man than when he joined them. The Army now holds forth a promise of a fine career to any young, able, and creditable man who joins the ranks. The interests of the Army are the interests of the people of the country. This is a lesson that Welshmen have yet to learn.

An attempt is being made to discount the connection between this epoch-making awakening and the present intellectual development of the nation. We are told that we must look elsewhere for the beginnings of modern Welsh life. The rewriting of history has become so fashionable as to amount almost to a craze. There are men who are seeking to convert the Reformation into a series of squalid episodes, and it is sought by some Welsh writers to represent the Methodist Revival as illustrative of nothing but insubordination, irregularity, and sour religious fanaticism. The attempt will fail. As I show in Chapter VIII., certain individual Welshmen had distinguished themselves in the sphere of politics, learning, law, and soldiery, and brought the Welsh nation into touch not only with England but with the Continent as well, before the dawn of Welsh Methodism. The better class of the Welsh gentry, too, kept in touch with the people, spoke their language, led their sports, and encouraged the cultivation of native talent. Wales, even then, shared both directly and indirectly in many aspects of the progress of thought.

Nevertheless, no historian who seeks to find the key to the true history of modern Wales can afford to ignore the fact of this great awakening. There was light already in the land, and serious attempts had been made to reform the people by enlightened and patriotic Churchmen; but this awakening supplied a force hitherto unknown and unfelt. It woke up the dormant capacity of the people, and infused into them a new energy. It stimulated thought, and stimulated it through the emotion—this, instruction, as such, had not and could not have accomplished. Subsequent to it, if not directly through it, there emerged some of the most enduring elements of modern Welsh civilisation. The Welsh intellect began to expand, and an inquiring faith took hold of the people; ethics began to be philosophically studied; the gift of oratory was cultivated; ancient forms of thought were replaced by modern ones; theological ideas began to multiply; the masses of the people came gradually under moral control; the national spirit took upon itself various forms of activity; knowledge began to be esteemed, and the desire for education increased; Welsh periodical literature and Welsh journalism came into existence; literary activity manifested itself on all sides; an impetus was given to the study of the Welsh language, and to dialectical skill in the use of it; individual interpretation of religious doctrine was encouraged, and this resulted in speculation on religious and philosophical subjects; the people took keen interest in discussions as to the nature of God, the qualities of the soul, and the fate of the lost; Commentaries were in demand; the argumentative faculty was developed; the way was prepared for the founding of colleges and seminaries, and constructive tendencies manifested themselves on all sides. One of the duskier communities in Europe, without political prestige, without a record in any of the arts or sciences, without any scholastic attainments, and without even a good name, in the small space of one hundred years attains a high standard of knowledge and of efficiency in the department of theology and philosophy. The most troublesome portion of the kingdom becomes the most law-abiding, with a remarkable immunity from crime. Now, there is not a single parish without a daily school and a Sunday school or schools; these

represent over thirty-four per cent. of the population. So far as *religious* knowledge is concerned, the Welsh, taken as a body of people, are, with the exception of the Scottish, among the best informed in Christendom. There are over twelve thousand books in the Welsh language to-day; and about thirty weekly newspapers, with a circulation of at least fifty thousand per week. There are about thirty-five monthly periodicals, and several quarterly and bi-monthly reviews. Welsh readers spend £200,000 per annum on strictly Welsh literature; not only on daily papers or novels, but also on solid literature. Besides, they support two provincial English papers, and six provincial English evening papers, and several London dailies. The instruments of education have been placed within the reach of the masses of the people.

This leads us to another aspect of the Welsh awakening —the literary. For its beginnings we must go back to the early Victorian period, for it was practically the period that marks the inauguration of the Welsh newspaper press. It is true that, as early as 1814, a most laudable attempt was made by that noble and enlightened patriot, the Rev. Joseph Harris ("Gomer"), of Swansea, to run a Welsh newspaper, called *Seren Gomer*, which, after the issue of eighty-five weekly numbers, and the loss of £1000 to the editor and to the publisher (David Jenkin), was suspended, to be restarted as a magazine in 1818; but when, in August 1843, Dr. William Rees, a Congregational minister ("Gwilym Hiraethog"), started to edit and issue *Yr Amserau* ("The Times"), Welsh newspaper journalism began in grim earnest—soon to be a great power in political and social economy. However, Dr. Rees and his printer (John Jones, Castle Street, Liverpool) soon discovered that the reading public in Wales did not appreciate their self-denying efforts; the circulation only amounted to four hundred. The publisher decided to discontinue the paper, but Dr. Rees induced him to suspend action in order to see the effect of a series of articles he intended writing himself, under the name of "Old Farmer." The circulation increased very rapidly. These articles dealt with such questions as the Abolition of the Corn Laws; Elementary Education; the Abolition of Church Rates; the Disestablishment Agitation,

first started by Edward Miall and a few others; and the Oxford Movement. The Game Laws also came in for treatment. These articles appealed to the farmers and the working classes in North Wales, and resulted in a combination of forces for offensive and defensive purposes. Dr. Rees anticipated most of the reforms that were subsequently passed by Parliament. It need hardly be said that one of the indirect results of such articles was to create a taste for politics among the industrial and agricultural communities. For years he never received any pecuniary reward as editor of *Yr Amserau*. The same is also true of most, if not of all, the Nonconformist ministers who were the social, political, and educational leaders of Wales during that period.

Eight years before Dr. Rees started *Yr Amserau* in the North, the Rev. David Rees, another Congregational minister, of Llanelly, had established in the South a sixpenny monthly called *Y Diwygiwr*. That was in August 1835. For thirty years he was its editor, publisher, and proprietor. It is still in existence, and published from the same office. In 1847 David Rees also founded, and edited for many years, *Tywysydd y Plant*, as the juvenile companion of *Y Diwygiwr*. In 1852 *Y Gymraes* was incorporated with it, and David Rees and Ieuan Gwynedd became joint-editors of the new periodical *Y Tywysydd a'r Gymraes*. These periodicals were powerful factors in the social and political life of the people; their influence extended beyond the confines of the Southern and Western portions of the Principality. David Rees kept *Y Diwygiwr* in touch with the living issues of the political life of the time, and kept his finger on the pulse of the people. He did much to stimulate popular intelligence on other than mere religious questions, and to prepare Welshmen for taking up the active duties of citizenship. The reaction following the religious revivals, which had made the care of the soul the paramount concern, and the duties of political citizenship as one of the snares of this world, gave him an opportunity to educate his countrymen in what he considered to be their civic obligations.

Two years after the publication of the first issue of *Y Diwygiwr*, he destroyed the Church rate in his own town.

He advocated the Chartist movement, the Rebecca riots, the political agitation against the Corn Laws, and the Disestablishment movement. As early as 1842 his cry was for "Free Trade, a Free Church, and a Free Vote." For these he counselled the people to agitate, and to continue to agitate until they succeeded. The Church rate was abolished in 1868, and the result was in no small measure due to the energetic efforts of the Rev. David Rees. The Chartist movement and the Rebecca riots, 1839–43,—an echo of the general social unrest,—were the specifically Welsh form which that unrest took. These agitations had his entire support; he believed the destruction of the toll gates to be perfectly justifiable. Some of his articles were translated and sent to Sir James Graham, at the Home Office, as they were supposed to be criminal, but no action was taken. He was one of the most militant—certainly one of the most responsible—political Dissenters of the first half of the nineteenth century. As the founder and editor of *Y Diwygiwr* and other magazines, he represented the rise and influence of the monthly periodical in the moulding of Welsh national life. Since the Methodist revivals, Welsh interest had been exclusively religious and theological; the great Nonconformist leaders, such as John Elias, Christmas Evans, and Williams of the Wern, were supporters of the old political order. Literature had not been altogether neglected, though it was not in any sense national. David Rees was one of the first to make a substantial move in that direction. He was born 1801; died 1869.

Yr Haul ("The Sun") was published in the same year as *Y Diwygiwr*—1835. Its editor, the Rev. David Owen ("Brutus"), once a Nonconformist minister, was a powerful writer. He had been formerly the editor of *Yr Efangylydd*, which was the official organ of the Independents (Congregationalists) in 1830–35. Owen's political views, and his outspoken criticism of Nonconformity, caused the Independents to withdraw their support; and *Yr Efangylydd* was discontinued. "Brutus" left the Independents and started *Yr Haul*, the first issue appearing the same month as *Y Diwygiwr*. For twenty years he carried on an unflinching war against *Y Diwygiwr*, its editor, and Dissent in general. It was a

bad bargain for Nonconformity; "Brutus" was not a man to trifle with, and proved a great asset to the Mother Church in those times.

In 1843 the Rev. Samuel Roberts, an Independent minister of Llanbrynmair, published the first number of his monthly periodical, *Y Cronicl*, which has now been discontinued. Welsh newspapers were considered a luxury in those days, and the monthlies were few and costly. *Y Cronicl* filled a long-felt want; its price and policy appealed to the people. It had a very extensive circulation, and wielded considerable influence over the social, political, and religious life of Wales. It stood for free trade, free education, and a free Church. It claimed that Welsh should be spoken in the Law Courts of Wales, and taught at the Universities; and fought for a new system of land tenure. Fifty years ago there was no religious monthly in Wales more popular than *Y Cronicl Bach*, as it was called. When Samuel Roberts went to America in the year 1857, his brother, the Rev. John Roberts, "J. R." of Conway, became its editor, and he continued to edit the magazine until his death in September 1884, when Samuel Roberts again became its editor. Samuel Roberts advocated Disestablishment before the Liberation Society came into existence; expounded free trade before the Anti-Corn Law League was formed; concerned himself with postal reform before it was successfully taken up by Sir Rowland Hill; and petitioned Parliament for an Ocean Penny Postage. In those days the transmission of a letter from Wales to London cost 1s. 1d., and from Wales to America 2s. 6d. Oftentimes Samuel Roberts had to pay the required 2s. 6d. to enable a poor mother to receive a letter from her son across the sea. In 1878 he started *Y Celt*, a Welsh weekly, which enjoyed varying fortunes; it was recently incorporated with a paper called *Y Tyst*, the official organ of the Welsh Independents.

In 1845, the Rev. Dr. Lewis Edwards, of Bala, started *Y Traethodydd* ("The Essayist"), as a quarterly, upon the plan of the *North British Review*; the Rev. Roger Edwards, who was editor of *Y Drysorfa* ("The Treasury"), the Calvinistic monthly organ, for half a century, acted as joint-editor. Dr.

Edwards gave up the editorship-in-chief in 1856, owing to pressure of other work; the Rev. Dr. Owen Thomas taking his place. Mr. Thomas Gee, of Denbigh, the well-known publisher and nationalist, published this periodical at his own expense for many years. *Y Traethodydd* still exists. It was a different class of publication from *Y Diwygiwr*, being less political; it introduced a new and higher code of critical laws. Its contributors were all good men, mostly Calvinistic Methodists. But as time went on he engaged writers from various denominations. It was his intention from the first to make it an undenominational publication. It certainly did succeed in modifying the feelings of the various denominations towards one another, by showing that every sect had more truth on its side than was conceded by the other side. His own articles covered a very wide ground; among the subjects were: "The Life and Thoughts of Dr. Arnold," "The Theological Controversies of Scotland," "The Established Church and Nonconformists," "The French Revolution," "The Corn Laws," "Logic," "Kant's Philosophy," "The Catholic Aggression," etc. The old press of Wales had turned out some great Welsh books, such as *The Myfyrian Archaiology* and *Owen-Pughe's Dictionary*, but these and similar productions, when considered from a popular viewpoint, did not possess the same educational and national value. *Y Traethodydd* and *Y Geiniogwerth*, which appeared in 1847, appealed to the farmers and artisans in a very marked degree. Many of the articles in *Y Traethodydd* were heavy and cumbrous translations, though it contained a great many original efforts of much value, and the spirit of the magazine was excellent, and it gave a substantial impetus to the growing feeling of nationality. Dr. Lewis Edwards was born October 27, 1809; died July 19, 1887.

In 1857 Thomas Gee issued *Y Faner*; two years later, *Yr Amserau*, the journal which was started by the Rev. Dr. William Rees in 1843, was incorporated, and the paper in its new form was called *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*. It had a national circulation, and was the greatest newspaper published in the vernacular. It was distinctly Welsh in character, and a great force in the shaping of Welsh national and political

ideals. In consequence of Gee's refusal to pay the Church rate, he suffered process at law and restraint. He deprecated and denounced the alliance between the landlords and the Anglican Church, pleaded the cause of the labourer and farmer, and took the popular side on the tithe question. His objection was not to the payment of the tithes as such, but to their diversion, from what he considered to be their original national uses, to merely sectarian purposes. He took up the cry of Welsh Disestablishment on the ground that he regarded the Church as an "alien" institution, and that "it was supported by a minority of the people." He also maintained the position taken up by Nonconformists, namely, "that the State had no concern with religion." He did not believe that complete religious liberty was possible without complete religious equality. The Church rates were abolished in 1868; but as Mr. Gee considered that the same principle was involved in the payment of tithes, he became an outstanding figure in the tithe war. When the tithe was made a part of the rent, he relinquished his farm, rather than acquiesce in the payment, even in this indirect way. When he appeared before the Departmental Committee in 1880, he presented a scheme of county boards for the control of education. But he proposed that no school or college having a denominational character should enjoy the privileges which might be connected with the scheme. He was opposed to religious instruction of any kind in the schools. His paper stood for Welsh Nationalism in its most aggressive form. Though he dissented from Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, he favoured the application of the principle of autonomy to Wales. He was born Jan. 24, 1815; died Sept. 28, 1898.

In January 1883 the first number of *Y Geninen* was published—a Welsh quarterly magazine which is largely patronised by the Nonconformist ministers and a few of the clergy. Though much of what appears in it is commonplace enough, yet it has served to help to keep up a certain kind of interest in Welsh matters. It is a kind of national cock-pit.

Y Dysgedydd ("The Teacher")—an important Welsh Independent monthly—was for a period of twenty-two years edited

by the late Rev. Herber Evans of Carnarvon. The ability and standing of the editor was in itself a guarantee that the magazine would be conducted on sane and dignified lines. His own notes were characterised by sound judgment, and a practical knowledge of the needs of the times. *Y Dysgedydd* was often quoted in other periodicals, and exercised a wide influence over the most thoughtful people in Wales. It dealt chiefly with theological, religious, and social matters. Dr. Evans was born July 5, 1836; died 1896.

Yr Hyfforddwr ("Instructor") was one of the earlier books that exercised considerable influence in Wales. It was composed by Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala, for the use of the Methodist Sunday Schools; it was simply a Catechism in question and answer with Scripture proofs, incorporating a portion of the Church Catechism. It does not appear to be in so much favour with the modern Methodist.

Mention should be made of the place of Welsh biographical literature in the moulding of Welsh thought, for it has had much to do with the general awakening of interest, and in the unfolding of intelligence among the common people. This branch of literature used to be in great favour in Wales in the days when it was under the dominion of theological and poetic ideas. There is less demand in Wales to-day for biographical and purely theological works. It is the earliest form of history, and at one time the most popular known among the Welsh people; and served to increase their reverence for their religious leaders, and to deepen their hold upon religion. It may be stated, and stated with accuracy, that the best biography that appeared in the Welsh language is that of the Rev. John Jones of Talysarn, by the late Rev. Owen Thomas, D.D., of Liverpool, and which was published in two volumes in 1874. His treatment of the history of Calvinistic Methodism from 1796–1857 is distinguished by exceptional historic insight and high literary ability.

My treatment of this branch of the subject would not be complete without some reference to the more distinguished of the Welsh prose writers who enriched Welsh periodical literature, and whose contributions were a means of instruction and amusement to their fellow-countrymen.

Foremost among this class I would place the Rev. Kilsby Jones. He was master both of his mind and of his pen; always selecting new and untrodden paths. It would be impossible here to give a list of all he wrote both under his own name and under fictitious names. That list I have given in my biography of him. When he wrote his first articles on "Edward Miall and his Writings," the nation felt that a Welsh *littérateur* of ability had appeared. His translation into English of the Rev. Dr. W. Rees's "Memoirs of Williams of Wern" showed how completely he had mastered the English language. The same may be said of his masterly article on the "Characteristics of the Welsh Pulpit." He was a frequent contributor to *Y Traethodydd* and *Y Byd Cymraeg* ("Welsh World"), and for some years was a regular correspondent to *Y Tyst*, Welsh Independent weekly, which was then under the editorship of the late Dr. John Thomas of Liverpool.

Dr. John Thomas himself did eminent service to Wales by his pen. It may be stated, and the statement will bear investigation, that much of what he wrote to the weekly press for many years would, as regards literary power, bear comparison with anything appearing in any English newspaper. The picturesque tales that he wrote from time to time were marked by the same real excellence as his journalistic writings. He did much to enlighten and to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their civic obligations. He was a clear-headed historian, and, in conjunction with the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Rees of Swansea, he published *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, the fifth volume of which was written by him alone.

John Griffiths ("Y Gohebydd") was another nineteenth-century prose-writer who did much by his articles to *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* to enlighten the Welsh people of that generation regarding questions of national importance; especially the House of Commons—its constitution, proceedings, and the doings of its most distinguished members. He also contributed to *Y Cronicl*, which was edited and published by the Rev. John Roberts.

The Rev. Evan Jones ("Ieuan Gwynedd") was a writer of distinction. He was the author of a series of "Welsh Sketches," which appeared in *The Nonconformist*, then edited

by the Rev. Edward Miall. The articles dealt with such subjects as Education and Religion in Wales; the Church and Churchmen; Nonconformity and Nonconformists. At the request of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge, he translated Dr. Whatley's work on "Christian Evidences," for which he received the princely sum of ten pounds and the thanks of the Archbishop. In 1847 he won a prize of ten pounds for the best essay on "The Moral Obligation of Total Abstinence." It was published in the *Teetotal Essayist* for June 1847. A Manchester gentleman was so impressed by the essay, that he resolved to present a copy of it to all the ministers and missionaries belonging to the Wesleyan body throughout the world. Mr. Cassel, of London, who gave the prize, presented a copy to each of the members of the two Houses of Parliament. His work on "Dissent and Morality in Wales" was published as a reply to the report of the Parliamentary Commission appointed to investigate the state of education, morality, and religion. In 1847 there appeared the notorious Blue Books, issued by the Commissioners. Mr. Jones vindicated the honour of his countrymen in *The Principality*, *The Nonconformist*, etc. In the beginning of 1850 he started a new monthly, entitled *Y Gymraes*, a magazine especially intended for the instruction of Welsh women. He became editor of *Y Diwygiwr* and *Yr Adolygydd*. As a Welsh prose writer he ranks high. He was born Sept. 20, 1820; died Feb. 25, 1852.

What of Welsh fictional literature? I have stated elsewhere that Wales has not asserted her individuality in either branch, whether idealistic or realistic. Not that there is, in the nature of things, any reason why a writer should not be strong in both. Scott was; he wove a world of romance, and at the same time gave realistic pictures of life. Still the distinction is a real one. We call a writer a realist who confines himself to the portrayal of manners and character as they exist and appear to him; he is an idealist when his principal characters embody a higher type of life; he becomes a romanticist when he transports his readers from the commonplace life of the present to the idealised life of the past. Judged by these standards, Wales has little to her credit.

She is infinitely beneath both Scotland and England, where the various aspects of the national development—social, political, and industrial—have been worked into fiction. "Allen Raine," the best known of all Welsh novelists, and Daniel Owen of Mold have given snapshots of Welsh rural and religious life, but there has been no Welsh novelist who has been able to deal with the collective life of the nation. Where is the explanation? There has been ample material both in the more antique stages of Welsh thought and life, and in the rise of the new era with its influence on the sentiments, imagination, domestic habits, and national character. But Puritanism has clipped the wings of Welsh Romanticism. It has made ample provision for the higher aspirations of the soul, though on the side of art its influence has been repressive. Writers of fiction have played no part in the development of Welsh national life. In this sense Welsh fiction has no past, and there are at present no indications that it has any future.

Much excellent pioneering work was done in Wales by means of popular lectures. As a means of instruction and entertainment to the multitudes, they once occupied a leading place. But they have now lost their popularity, chiefly owing to the fact that there are other and more expeditious sources of information. Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, a great number of Welshmen owed their introduction to many useful studies to the interest created by this form of popular instruction and entertainment.

One of the pioneers was the Rev. Dr. William Rees ("Hiraethog"). He dealt with such subjects as Martin Luther, the Protestant Reformation, the European Revolutions of 1848, etc.

The Rev. Thomas Jones, the silver-tongued Welshman known as "The Poet-Preacher," rendered conspicuous service to his countrymen by his famous lecture on "John Williams of Erromanga." Such was his genius, his eloquence, his strength, and the highly artistic character of his conception and expression, that he was in constant demand. He was a man of international fame.

Kilsby Jones belonged to a different class, but as a lecturer he was second to none in popular esteem. His lectures on John Penry, and the Rev. Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho, were the clarion-blasts that set the long-torpid chords of patriotism throbbing in the Welsh heart. In reference to Kilsby's famous lecture on "Vicar Prichard," the late Dean Howell wrote to me as follows: "As a word-picture of the life and times of Vicar Prichard, the lecture left nothing to be desired; only equalled by the late Rev. Thomas Jones's (then of Morriston) famous lecture on John Williams of Erromanga."

The Rev. Dr. Herber Evans of Carnarvon was a great hero-worshipper, and lectured much, and with unusual acceptance, throughout the country, on such subjects as David Livingstone and Oliver Cromwell. The lessons he drew were lessons of character, history, and patriotism, and were a source of great inspiration to thousands of Welshmen all over the land.

The Rev. John Hugh Evans ("Cynfaen"), a Wesleyan minister, was also a powerful and prominent lecturer, who flourished in the nineteenth century. His lecture on "Volcanoes" was illustrated by large coloured drawings done by himself, which revealed the range of his scientific knowledge, and it was by no means inconsiderable.

No one acquainted with the inner facts connected with the evolution of Welsh social and national life can ignore the work done by the various literary societies held in chapels and schoolrooms, and also the national institution known as the "Eisteddfod." Much has been done in this way towards cultivating the poetry and literature of the nation, and to develop the latent talent of Welsh young men and women.

With regard to music, it cannot be said that it has played a very important part in the moulding of Welsh national life, though it would be an injustice to entirely ignore it. At the beginning of the last century there was no hymn singing, and but little congregational singing in the Welsh branch of the Anglican Church. It was chiefly choral, and was confined to psalms and anthems. Among Nonconformists the whole of

the music was congregational, though very imperfect and unsuitable. Music throughout Wales was at a very low ebb, and practically nothing had been done to place it on its present footing. Strong prejudice existed against any interference with what was then called "sacred music"; and an equally strong prejudice against permitting non-professing Christians to participate in the same. It was in the face of much opposition, and even obloquy, that John Ellis of Llanrwst and David Jenkin Morgan of Llechryd—one in the North and the other in the South—traversed the country in order to establish singing schools, and to teach the people the elementary rudiments of music. There were no hymnals; the anthems and songs which John Ellis and David Jenkin Morgan composed, for those who could understand them, had to be borrowed and copied. With the exception of what was contained in the Prayer Book, and in the book of Edmund Prys, the first collection of tunes printed in Wales was that of John Ellis of Llanrwst. It was published in 1816 at a price which was prohibitive to the general public. The appearance of this book marks the birth of printed Welsh sacred music. Another collection appeared in 1819, by Owen Williams of Anglesey; it was composed of three hundred and ten tunes, and four anthems. In 1823, and again in 1825, appeared Ieuan Ddu o Lan Towy's little collection, and in 1828 a larger and more important one by William Owen, of Newtown, Montgomeryshire.

In the year 1830 the first Welsh Musical Association was formed at Aberystwyth; it was undenominational in character. Out of this Association was evolved the musical festivals which have been, for so many years, such a prominent feature in the religious life of Wales. From this time onward music began to play a heavier part in the life of the nation; though between the years 1845 and 1859 there is no record of any congregational musical festivals. The men who did most in later years for the cultivation of the art of music, and to create general interest in it, were the Mills family of Llanidloes, Ieuan Gwyllt, Ambrose Lloyd, Rev. Edward Stephens ("Tanymarian"), Owain Alaw, Brinley Richards, J. D. Jones, and Dr. Joseph Parry. Ieuan Gwyllt's Welsh hymnal did

great service in this direction. His criticisms and adjudications, in various parts of the country, were no mean factors in raising Welsh music from its obscurity and inefficiency. During this era the first Welsh oratorio, entitled the *Storm of Tiberias*, by the Rev. Edward Stephens ("Tanymarian"), was produced; also the first Welsh opera, called *Blodwen*, by Dr. Joseph Parry. Dr. Parry flourished in the last two decades of the Victorian era, and was the most prolific composer of them all. In hymn-tunes and anthems Ambrose Lloyd stands pre-eminent. Until the advent of Caradog, Eos Morlais, Silas Evans, Ieuan Gwyllt, and David Jenkins of Aberystwyth, musical conductors in Wales were untrained and uneducated. Singing in Wales to-day is greatly in advance of anything the past could show.

I have made extensive references in another part of this work to the general or international aspect of Welsh poetry. To name all the Welsh poets, or rather versifiers, to say nothing of their productions, would require a volume in itself. If I were to pass judgment on this branch of Welsh literature, I would say that it is *too great a lavish of talent.* There is not a river or mountain, a bird or beast of prey, a funeral or marriage, that some Welsh versifier has not sought to immortalise. It is stated on the authority of an Archdruid that Dafydd Ionawr has not yet received the honour that is due to him. Some enthusiastic Welshmen have bracketed him with Milton; but others, who are still more enthusiastic, have objected to the comparison because it is derogatory to Dafydd. Miles of all sorts of poetry have appeared in pamphlet and book form in Wales, and have been sold in chapels and market-places; it was pretty and fanciful, but totally unworthy of the name of poetry. Probably the country was not then ready to receive anything better. To an ignorant and semi-barbarous population, such poetic effusions, partly comic, partly serious, and occasionally bordering on the vulgar, did undoubtedly greatly season those convivial gatherings which, in times past, formed so large a part of the life of the people. Some of the eighteenth-century Welsh poets, like Twm o'r Nant, whose efforts possessed much literary merit, did something towards putting down

local tyranny, and exposing the shams and foibles of the times. He sang some ballads of a character that made him a great favourite with the masses.

It is said of Ceiriog, a later and a far worthier member of the poetic fraternity, that he could compose such love poetry as to move the most unlovable stoic. Ceiriog was a poet of unequal merit, and some of his comic verses were not very creditable. But he is remembered by his best, and occupies a growing place in the esteem of the nation. Mynyddog, a contemporary of Ceiriog, wrote and sang much that tickled the fancy of the crowds; and it may be said that, instead of seeking to elevate and purify their taste, he rather descended to their level. Talhaearn was another of the same class; immensely popular, because animated by ungovernable humour. Their chief value lies in being an index to the temper, social propensities, and mental aptitude of the people of those times.

The Methodist Revival affected the literature of the nation more than anything, especially the poetic side of it; this accounts for the fact that so much of the poetry of the Victorian period is of a religious and descriptive character, and that so many of the poets were preachers. Wales had, during that period, many humorous writers of verse, such as Talhaearn, Ceiriog, Mynyddog, and Watcyn Wyn. But the majority of Welsh poets were concerned with the nation's religion and morals, and were found in considerable numbers in the pulpit, with prose sermons as their vehicles. There were then, as well as before that period and now, a large number of writers of verse with very little of it of an enduring character, and containing scarcely any real sentiment and imagination.

The Victorian period was a period of renaissance in Welsh poetry, which gave the nation her greatest poetic works in the *telyneg* (lyric), *bugeilgerdd* (pastoral), and *arwrgerdd* (epic), and when the *pryddest* (long poem) and *awdl* (ode) reached their zenith. Greater attention was paid to purity of language, propriety of sentiment, clearness of idea, and to the artistic side of the art of poetry. Among the bards whose influence contributed to this end may be mentioned, Dafydd Ddu

Eryri, Daniel Ddu, Iolo Morgannwg, Gwallter Mechain, Dafis Castell Hywel, Dewi Wyn o Eifion, Alun, Eben Fardd, Ieuan Glan Geirionnydd, Caledfryn, Nicander, Dewi Wyn o Esyllt, Dr. William Rees ("Hiraethog"), Cynddelw, Ap Vychan, Gwalchmai, and Islwyn. There were others, poets of the old school, whose productions were out of touch with the progressive thought of the times in which they lived.

Dewi Wyn o Esyllt was a philosopher as well as a poet, and brought the one to the aid of the other. Like most Welsh poets, impelled partly by necessity and partly by an inordinate desire for Eisteddfodic fame, he devoted his talent to win prizes. Nevertheless, he left behind him some valuable contributions to Welsh poetic literature.

Gwallter Mechain was a poet who illumined the art by much that was fresh in thought and penetrating in perception.

Ieuan Glan Geirionnydd has left a perpetual memorial behind him in those hymns, some of them the best of the century, such as "Ar Lan Iorddonen Ddofn" and "Fy Nhad sydd wrth y llyw." His hymn-prayer, "O Dduw! na wrthod fi" ("O God, do not reject me"), is as popular in Wales as the Lord's Prayer.

The name of Ieuan Gwynedd stands among the most honoured of all the Welsh poets; not only for his unblemished character, but for his patriotism, and the extent and variety of his mental output. He possessed descriptive powers, and his *View of Moses on Pisgah* is rich in good things.

Dr. William Rees ("Hiraethog") ranks among the foremost. Taking everything into consideration, his intellect was the most herculean, symmetrical, and powerful that ever illumined, not only the Welsh poetic circle, but the Welsh pulpit in general. In this estimate I include the Welsh pulpit both past and present, of every creed and sect. As a poet he has somewhat receded, though one of his hymns, "Dyma gariad fel y moroedd," was one of the favourite hymns during the Revival of 1904–5. His masterpiece, "Immanuel," was written in blank verse, and it was expected that it would occupy a pre-eminent place in Welsh poetry.

Islwyn, on the other hand, though not so massive in mind, and with not so many chords to his lyre, has advanced in

popularity since his death. Mr. Owen M. Edwards has done something to place him in the most favourable light to the present generation of Welsh men and women. It is to be hoped that some one will, in the future, render a similar service to Hiraethog, whom I consider to be the flower of Welsh intellectual versatility. Islwyn was a unique Welsh poet, who gave a new direction to the Welsh poetic genius. It is difficult to define him, for he has many characteristics. He sang to heal, and had the gentleness of a dove; here he shone, but he could play the strong chord, and had an intense spirit of earnestness. He was an interpreter, and his face was towards the spiritual and the unseen. He tried to be mirthful, but he failed, for mirth was not congenial to his genius. Pathos was; so was affinity with nature, so was sublimity. There was a large element of mysticism in his nature, larger perhaps than in that of any other Welsh poet. He bears meditation and reflection; a claim that it would be difficult to establish for the great majority of the Welsh poets. He, however, wrote much that was trivial and local in character.

As to the place of Welsh poetry in the development of modern Welsh life and thought, it has to be stated that it has not been the power in Welsh life that English poetry has been in English life; neither is the poetic genius so strong in the Welsh poets as it is in English and Continental poets. The influence of the Welsh poet on the literary, national, and even religious life of the nation is receding, and is likely to recede more and more. In taking a broad view of its past history we may say that it has exercised a rejuvenating influence over the spirit of the nation, and has been a source of solace to the people in the home and in the sanctuary; it has fostered a love of the native tongue, and cultivated the element of spiritual idealism, so characteristic of the Welsh nature; it has enriched Welsh literature with ideas of chastity, comradeship, and patriotism. This fellowship of Welsh poetry with Welsh patriotism has been a powerful formative force in the rehabilitation of the nation; the one has acted and reacted on the other. There is nothing extraordinary in this, for they have an affinity of passion—both are moral and both are imaginative. As they have been wedded in their essential

qualities, so they have been wedded in spirit and in purpose; together they have walked in the ways of reason and of duty, and together they have sought the good of the country and of the nation. Even Welsh poetry has changed its function and its ambition; petty resentments have given way to a sounder love of fatherland. Not that the past is forgotten; no true poet or patriot could, or should, forget, especially where such grievous wrongs have existed. But the vindictive passion has been eliminated, and the narrow vain-glorious assumption has ceased to absorb the Welsh mind. Both are devoted to the fulfilment of the nation's highest vocation.

We cannot ignore the effect of the Oxford Movement upon Welsh life and thought. To the Established Church in Wales it was a godsend, for it contained a great deal of truth in directing men's minds to the Church as a "divinely instituted society for the salvation of men." True, some foresaw in it results of a kind very dangerous to the peace and well-being of the Church. To those to whom the presence of Christ in His ordinances is real because spiritual, not material, and who disliked excessive and minute ritual, especially in connection with the Holy Communion, the movement was fraught with dangerous tendencies. There were other minds differently constituted, and who saw in the Oxford Movement the rediscovery of certain precious truths, forms of worship, and Christian activity. The Oxford Movement had an excellent effect upon the clergy. They began to abound in works of charity, and gave a wonderful impetus to projects of a humanitarian character. Their devoted and unselfish efforts made an impression upon the minds and the hearts of the people, and softened, for a time, the asperity with which Welshmen had regarded the Anglican Church. One of the objects of the Oxford Movement was to make the services of the Church more æsthetic and devotional, and to regain the confidence and affection of the people; in this it certainly succeeded. It appealed to their imagination, and produced a revival of the romantic spirit. To a very great degree it nullified the efforts of the Disestablishment party. The Rev. Constable Ellis, M.A., of Llanfairfechan, was among the first to be influenced by this movement. His example was

followed by a great number of the younger generation of the clergy, and to-day there are signs that it has worked its way into some of the most isolated and exclusive parts of the country. It had the effect of restoring order and dignity to the form of worship in the Episcopalian Church. It also greatly encouraged the æsthetic and ceremonial element.

No survey of the forces that operated in the reorganisation of Wales would be complete without a generous reference to the work done by the Welsh Sunday School. It is a primary and an inseparable part of Welsh religious life. There has been a sentiment abroad both in Wales and in England throughout the generations that the late Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala was the father of the Welsh Sunday School, and that it was the outgrowth of the circulating schools associated with the names of Madam Bevan and the Rev. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror. There is, however, no historical foundation for attributing the origin of the Welsh Sunday Schools to the Rev. Thomas Charles and his schools. There is not one word in his correspondence, or books, to justify the assumption. Moreover, Morgan John Rhys of Hengoed, a Baptist minister, was Charles's forerunner in this movement by some years, and his services to national education were far greater. Morgan John Rhys started Welsh Sunday Schools in the year 1787, and provided a text-book for their use. By his *Cylchgrawn Cymraeg* and his books he was the first to explain the Sunday-school system to the Welsh people in their own language. The Welsh Sunday Schools differed from the Sunday Schools in England established by Robert Raikes, in the fact that in Wales great prominence was given to the catechistical form of teaching. Robert Raikes provided chiefly for the young, whereas Griffith Jones, Madam Bevan, Charles of Bala, and Morgan John Rhys of Hengoed provided for both young and old. In 1794 Morgan John Rhys published a book containing suggestions as to how to form Welsh Sunday Schools, with lessons in reading, catechism, songs, and prayers for children. He travelled extensively throughout Wales in order to sell and distribute his book. He had to leave the country in 1794 on account of his political views, and died in America in 1804.

Titus Lewis, of Carmarthen, who took up the work in the year in which Rhys died, also published a catechism, which was a means of instruction to thousands in Wales in connection with Welsh Sunday Schools. Dr. Edward Williams of Rotherham, formerly of Oswestry and Carr's Lane, Birmingham, and Dr. George Lewis, of Llanuwchllyn, worked with Charles of Bala in the charity and circulating schools, and their combined service in this respect has an acknowledged uniqueness.

The Sunday-school literature of Wales forms a valuable part of the moral and religious assets of the nation. In the Sunday Schools the Welsh were first taught the art of reading. While Welsh evangelists preached the Gospel, lay teachers taught and explained it. It may have been, when judged in the light of the present, wisely or less wisely imparted, according to the circumstances which then existed. The stock of Biblical knowledge, and of moral experience, was in those days necessarily slender, and Welsh children were less competent then than now to understand the attributes and revealed character of God. The tracings were fainter in the home, and in the little round of daily life which they heard, saw, and felt. There were not so many Bibles in the land, nor so many competent teachers to interpret them, nor so many expositions and aids to the study of Scripture. But this childhood instruction, so imperfectly yet so nobly begun, has been carried on throughout the generations by ministers of religion, fathers, mothers, and elders. The Welsh Sunday School has filled out in every direction, so that to-day there is as much real, active, earnest moral life going on within them, as in any department of Welsh religious life. They have exercised an influence greater even than the pulpit, in shaping the nation's religious conceptions, and in the development of its knowledge of the Word of God. Out of them have come those Welsh ideas of justice and of responsibility which cohere about their notion of God. Of all the sights, there is none more inspiring, or reassuring, than to see men and women who have contested with difficulties, and borne the toil, and burden, and heat of the day, at the age of fifty or sixty, or even more, teaching and being taught the Word of

truth. No nation can go far wrong that pursues such a course. *If I were asked to name the three sources of Welsh manhood, I would mention the Bible, the Pulpit, and the Sunday School.*

I have tried to explain the reorganisation of Wales from its religious, ethical, and literary side; the economic and educational sides are dealt with elsewhere. It now remains for me to make an attempt to look at the movement from the political side—as the pioneer of Welsh democratic thought and feeling. It was inevitable that all this moral and intellectual activity, increasing in area and intensity with each successive generation, should at last find a political expression. That expression we find in the modern uprising of Welsh Nationalism which followed the Enfranchisement Bill of 1867, when the thoughts of Welshmen were turned to the question of parliamentary representation. The formation of the Welsh League at Liverpool, shortly after the defeat of Disraeli's Government, marks the beginning of Welsh political nationalism. It was to be expected that the governing classes of that period in Wales, with whom power had previously rested, should look with suspicion upon the forces that were working towards a new social and political organism. Many of them were selfish and self-centred, leading useless lives. Landowners, men of wealth and of leisure in the different counties, stood aloof from the common people, took no interest in their material welfare, nor in their literary and social aspirations; they even despised them, and kept them under. Then, when the people were given votes, the landlords wondered why they voted Radical. The exercise of power intensifies the passion for it. A notorious few had used their power regardless of their moral and national obligation; but that power was largely broken by the Ballot Act of 1872. Power had now been transferred to the peasantry, and not too soon, for there had been a gradual and a sure growth among them of the elements of self-respect, intelligence, and discrimination. That the Welsh people were fitted, both by temperament and by training, to bear the responsibility of new and added power, was proved by the use they made of it. They set themselves

to kindle enthusiasm for education, an enthusiasm which has since become a proverbial characteristic of the nation. Until then education had been under the control of the Anglican Church, and to her credit it should be said that, had it not been for the secular education provided by her, thousands of Welsh children throughout the land would have been left without any education at all. Before the State, in 1870, began to interest itself in the matter of Welsh education, the Anglican Church had planted her national schools in most of the Welsh parishes, where children of all sects and creeds, as well as her own, could be educated for their life-work. But the Church schools were now face to face with two difficulties, namely, a growing objection to the character of their religious instruction, and the fact that while democracy might not be the best thing in the world, it was inevitable. Through blood, violence, and tribulation it had been making its way throughout the continent of Europe, and it was rapidly spreading itself over the entire Welsh nation. At the root of this democratic feeling was the nation-idea—partly influenced by the course of events in Europe, but essentially a native growth, to which the conditions created by English indifference to Welsh needs made material contribution. Every social system must ultimately represent the living want and judgment of the people as a whole. That judgment may be erroneous, as it often is, and will be; it may be a result of a temporary outburst of unintelligent passion; but even Napoleon, with his vast power, found it necessary to surrender to public sentiment; not because he agreed with it, or believed in it, but because he knew that the only condition upon which he could retain power, was by making his government free and more free.

The election of 1868 had marked the rise of new political forces which Welsh Church leaders and the gentry did not understand or rightly measure. The disestablishment of the Irish Church had greatly encouraged the anti-Church party, and the Church itself was put on the defensive. The attack was upon her position and material resources, rather than upon her doctrines and practices. Indeed, as I have already stated, to the early Dissenters separation from the Mother

Church was a sad and painful necessity. Radicals they were not; they were not even Liberals—as Liberalism is now understood. Most of the foremost men, like John Elias, believed in the old political system. The Nonconformists of those, and even of later days, were indifferent to what is now claimed to be the rights of their successors. They had a dread of interfering in political matters. They felt it their duty to pay Church rates; and they had no objection to the clergy marrying parties who were Dissenters. More than that; it was an axiom in those days that no marriage was good unless performed in the Anglican Church, and by a clergyman. For the Church as a spiritual organisation the old Nonconformist leaders had profound respect, though separated from it. The people preferred to see their dead buried by a clergyman, and under the patronage of the Church. To disestablish and disendow her was as foreign to their instincts as it was to their thoughts. They were certain that to pay tithes was quite scriptural. In fact the Chartist and Rebecca riots of 1839 and 1843 caused a reaction against Dissent, even among Dissenters themselves. The reaction, however, was only temporary.

When, and why, did the Welsh become Radicals? The forces at work were many and varied. One was the Church rate. Between 1846 and 1850, not less than 1734 persons were brought before the magistrates for non-payment of rates. Another was the tithe question in 1830, which assumed a much more acute form in 1888. Also, the Liberation Society, which was formed in 1857, gave additional impetus to the reform movement. Then there was the public meeting of 1862 held at Swansea to commemorate the expulsion of the 2000 from the Anglican Church in 1662. The chief speakers were Henry Richard, Edward Miall, and J. Carvell-Williams. Previous to that time the Calvinistic Methodists had refused to participate in the Disestablishment agitation. It was started as far back as 1793, by Morgan John Rhys, commonly regarded in his day as a Jacobin revolutionist. His views were expressed in *Y Cylchgrawn Cymraeg* for August 1793. In 1830 it was openly championed by the Revs. D. Morgan of Llanfyllin; Arthur Jones, D.D., of Bangor; Hugh Pugh of

Mostyn; Gwilym Caledfryn, and others. Subsequently a Disestablishment Society was organised in the county of Merioneth; the merits of the question began to be freely discussed in the Welsh press of that period, such as *Seren Gomer*, *Y Seren Ogleddol*, *Y Dysgedydd*, *Yr Efangylydd*, *Y Diwygiwr*, and *Y Cronicl*.

In those days it was a purely *religious* movement. But even as a religious question, the Calvinistic Methodists had steadily refused to give it their support. They actually passed a resolution at Bala in 1834, condemning the movement and strongly urging the people to keep aloof from it, on the ground that it was a question that did not come within their province as a religious body. Between the date of that resolution (1834) and the date of the public meeting at Swansea (1862) twenty-eight years had elapsed, and many events had transpired meanwhile. The clergy had been forcing the payment of Church rates. Many of the adherents of Calvinistic Methodism had been brought before the magistrates. A large number of these clergy were Englishmen, out of touch with the people, having no understanding of their temperament, and caring but little for their need. As the late Dean Edwards of Bangor said: "A patriotic clergy would have *led* the people." This they failed to do: they *fought* the people, served them with processes of law, ignored their language, refused them opportunities and encouragement to cultivate their own special gifts and to live their own lives.

Moreover, during this intervening period the Chartist and Rebecca riots (1839–1843) had taken place. There was also the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Events were moving rapidly. So that when the great meeting of all the Nonconformist bodies was held at Swansea, the Calvinistic Methodists had fallen into line. The Welsh reform movement had now assumed an organised form; and the Church question, which included a number of other questions besides disestablishment, was transferred from the arena of religion into the arena of politics. The Radical note was sounded, and a vein was struck which has since worked out in various directions. Modern Wales from a purely National view-point began at that period. The scattered efforts of individuals were focussed, and the people were bound together by unity of national

feeling and purpose. To put it briefly, we must look for the explanation of modern Welsh Radicalism to Nonconformity, landlordism, and ecclesiastical history.

At the election of 1868 not less than twenty-two members were returned to Parliament from Wales pledged to support Welsh reform, and particularly Welsh Disestablishment. Among those elected were Henry Richard, George Osborne Morgan, John Roberts, and Watkyn Williams. In 1870 Mr. Williams introduced a measure of Disestablishment into the House of Commons; forty-five voted for it, and two hundred and nine against. Another Bill was introduced in 1886, when two hundred and twenty-nine voted for, and two hundred and forty-one against. In 1894 Welsh Disestablishment was officially taken up by the Liberal Government, and Mr. Asquith was deputed to bring in a Bill that passed through the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone was abroad; when he found that Mr. Asquith had included a provision for confiscating the Cathedrals, he telegraphed from the Continent cancelling his pair in favour of the Bill. It did not go to the House of Lords. The commencement stage of the Bill was proceeding when the Government fell. It is a notable fact that seventeen years afterwards—in the year 1911—it should be the lot of Mr. Asquith, in his capacity as Prime Minister, to announce that Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment has been bracketed with Irish Home Rule for next session, in order that it might be carried into law before the expiry of the present Parliament.

Thus, in summing up the situation, we find in Wales at this hour what we find in Europe, only on an infinitely smaller scale, the organisation of the national intellect being given a political control. The Church question has been made a political question—based on political lines and prosecuted for political ends. The political instinct is a strong Welsh instinct, and politicians bloom quickly in the Principality. Rightly or wrongly, Disestablishment is one of the means by which the bulk of the nation is seeking to accomplish its intellectual organisation. So far progression has been in accordance with native tendencies, and psychological conditions have guided present social and religious development. For the earliest

rudiments of this development, we have to go back to the supernatural basis upon which it was founded, and sustained by the literary and educational instincts of the people without any aid, and but little encouragement, from the conquering power. Out of it has evolved a new organon and a new philosophy of life—a new type of leaders for the people, and a new type of people for them to lead.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM

IT should be observed that the analysis of the spiritual and literary development of Wales made in the previous chapter demonstrates the fact, that the Church of England in Wales had within it all the elements that were essential for a great intellectual and moral expansion. The religious awakenings not only infused new energy into the earlier Nonconformist bodies, but they brought a striking and permanent improvement in the Church herself, in the character and attainments of the clergy, in the attitude of the Bishops towards the people and their language, in the question of discipline, and the whole administration of the Church. The English Bishops began to realise to some extent, at any rate, the necessity of supplying the Welsh Church with clergymen who were able to preach in the vernacular, and to adapt Church ministrations to the spiritual requirements of the nation. The system of pluralities was gradually done away with, and the abuses connected with episcopal patronage were removed, with the result that whereas the Church, sixty years ago, was not in a well-organised condition, it is now the largest individual communion in the Principality. In it we find, at this hour, a body of men conspicuous for their ability, religious zeal, and enthusiasm for all kinds of humanitarian work; men who are following up the beginnings of this great Welsh religious awakening with a fidelity, an earnestness, and a self-abnegation that has placed them very high in the esteem and affection of the best elements in the nation.

Unlike their predecessors, the present race of clergy do not take it for granted that their Church is safe, and bound to

prosper because it is the National Church—that is, because the nation chooses the society called the Church of England to be the organ by which it expresses its own religious sentiments. They feel, and feel deeply, the obligation that rests upon them to see that the Church fulfils the various functions which that organ should discharge in a healthy and righteous community. The Church exists to give corporate expression to the real Christian and God-fearing character of the great masses of the people. This it cannot do merely by virtue of the authority implied in its constitution, nor by virtue of State recognition. The highest claim—indeed, the *only* claim —a Church, or a nation, has to the right to exist, or to be recognised, is in the service that it renders to the community. Merely to have existed, and to have survived, is not enough. Churchmen venerate those old churches, built not for a day, but for the ages. In that great constructive period, between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, such churches were new; they are now hoary with years. To the unreflective political opportunist of this hour they signify nothing. To the loyal Churchman they represent the noblest type of citizenship. But the appeal to antiquity finds no response among the masses of Welsh electors. The spirit of this age is essentially utilitarian; it judges the claims of an institution by its utility. Democracy is a hard master; it exacts all and more than is due to it, and with but little consideration for interests other than its own. The clergy cannot hope to win the sympathies of men for the Church, merely in the name and for the glory of the Church, as if the Church were the jewel and religion the casket. The Church that is seen most in her ecclesiasticism, is the least in popular esteem; the less she is seen in her ecclesiasticism, and the more she is seen in her benevolence, the stronger her hold upon the hearts of the people. The gospel of the blessedness of poverty is a mere mockery when spoken from the lips of men who live in princely palaces, and who enjoy princely incomes, with security of tenure, but who evince narrow and obstinate hostility to all democratic progress. Episcopacy is not prelacy. There is certainly monarchy in the idea, but a monarchy which in the best times and the most favoured places has been strictly

constitutional, with due rights accorded both to the laity and to the other clergy.

When judged by the democratic test of usefulness, how does the Church in Wales stand? The difference between her present status and that of the early part of the eighteenth century, and especially in the atmosphere which she creates, is one of the most striking facts in the history of modern Wales. She is the most progressive religious organisation in Wales; and in proportion as she has extended her boundaries, she has increased in spirituality. In the forties and fifties Dr. Short, the then Bishop of St. Asaph, used to invite his clergy, in groups of from six to a dozen at a time, to spend a quiet day with him at the palace, and to ascertain from them the religious condition of their parishes. On one occasion, soon after Easter, he inquired of several of them as to the number of communicants on Easter Day. "I had about forty, my lord," said one; another said, "I had between forty and fifty"; then, turning to Canon Cunliffe, of Wrexham, he asked, "How many had you?" The Canon replied, "We had over seventy, my lord." The Bishop expressed his gratification at such a favourable report. But when the late Dean Howell left Wrexham, in 1891, after a residence of sixteen years, there was a communicants' roll of close upon 700; and when Archdeacon Fletcher, his successor, left in 1907, the communicants numbered over 1300. He was succeeded by the present incumbent, the Rev. Canon Davies, who had the pleasure of witnessing 1555 communicants on Easter Day last. Similar results are noticeable throughout the whole of Wales. When the Welsh figures are compared proportionately with the corresponding figures in the English dioceses, it will be found that there are four communicants in Wales for every three in England, and that the rate of increase for confirmation candidates in England is considerably less than it is in Wales. The total number confirmed throughout the four Welsh dioceses, in the year 1889, was 12,308, or an increase of 59 per cent. upon the average of the previous ten years.

Considerable attention has been paid to the question as to the proportion in which the Anglican Church and the leading Nonconformist bodies express the real religious sentiment of

the people. The Report of the Welsh Church Commission, which bears upon the subject, has now been published. It shows that all the religious organisations are engaged in active and self-sacrificing endeavours on behalf of the moral and spiritual welfare of the nation. The strength of the Churches in membership and communicants is given as:—

Church of England	193,081
Baptists	143,835
Calvinistic Methodists	170,617
Congregationalists	175,147
Wesleyans	40,811
Smaller denominations	19,870
Total	743,361

Taking the population of Wales, deducting children of three years of age and under, to be 1,864,696, the result is that in Wales we find, according to the above table, two communicants in every five persons.

The figures for the Sunday scholars under and over fifteen are taken from the county statistics:—

	Scholars under Fifteen.	Scholars over Fifteen.
Church of England	112,698	56,088
Calvinistic Methodist	93,018	95,130
Congregationalist	82,673	79,464
Baptist	77,929	64,581
Wesleyan	38,100	29,111

The above figures are for the year 1905, which was highly favourable to the Nonconformists, being the second and last year of the Revival. There was an increase of 81,673 in 1904 and 1905 in the total number of full membership in the aggregate. With the reaction that followed, and which is still in progress, I deal elsewhere. The confirmation figures before and after 1905 afford some indication of the effect of the Revival upon the Church of England. They show that an increase of 1706 in 1904–5 may be attributed to the influence

of the Revival during the two years in question. The confirmations for the four years (1906–9, inclusive) subsequent to the Revival are, on the other hand, higher by 969 than those for the four years (1902–5) which include the years of the Revival, and there has been an increase of 10,177 in Easter communicants in the four Welsh dioceses during the years subsequent to the Revival. For some unaccountable reason the Sunday School has not yet taken the prominent place in Church of England organisations which one would expect.

The Unitarians in Wales do not exceed 3000 in number. They have no church in North Wales; but there are thirty-five churches in South Wales, fifteen of which are situated in Cardiganshire. There is no co-operation in Divine worship between the Unitarians and the Nonconformists, and the interchange of pulpits has been *very rare*, and has been confined entirely to the Congregationalists and the Free Baptists.

The Roman Catholics provide sitting accommodation for 21,880, and their total congregations number 64,000. This shows accommodation for a third of the total congregation. Their strength lies chiefly in the industrial districts of South Wales, though their progress is much more marked in certain definite rural districts of North Wales than in any of the rural districts of South Wales. According to the Catholic Directory for 1907, there are in the diocese of Menevia (which comprises the whole of Wales except Glamorgan and Monmouth) sixteen orders or congregations of women, generally known as convents, and eighteen similar institutions for men. In Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire the number of such institutions is—men, 10; women, 13.

Mr. Asquith said that it would not be expedient to introduce a measure of Welsh Disestablishment until the facts had been carefully considered, and reported upon. Two years, however, before the Commission had issued its conclusions, he decided to bring forward a measure similar in all respects to those which had already been presented. The historical evidence could not be admitted owing to the terms of reference, and for that reason Nonconformists do not consider the Report an adequate representation of the religious life of Wales. "We shall not forget," they say, "that this

Church of England in Wales is a Church with a *past*." I have already indicated some of the causes to which the present difficulties of the Church may be attributed. Bishop Berkley's query is justly applicable to Wales: "Whether there be any instance of a people being converted, in a Christian sense, otherwise than by preaching to them and instructing them in their own language." But this persistent effort to introduce the posthumous indictment as a set-off against the present activity of the Church, finds no parallel, or justification, in any known form of judicial procedure, nor can it be brought within any just or useful scheme of political action.

Setting aside any question of vulgar comparison and competition, the Report establishes the fact that the Church is honestly endeavouring to discharge her mission. A summary of its salient features shows the measure of progress that the Church of England has made. The Commissioners took the year 1905, the year before the Commission was appointed, as the test year for which statistics were to be collected. The number of churches is given as 1546, mission-rooms 318, and seating accommodation 458,917. This gives the Church of England approximately one place of worship for every 1080 of the population, and two seats for every nine of the population.

The communicants are given at 193,081, the English Sunday services at 2442, the Welsh Sunday services at 1113, and the bilingual services at 228. These bilingual services are gradually dying out, and it should be mentioned that out of the 228 bilingual services referred to, 211 are to be found in the rural area of the diocese of St. David's. The census of 1901 shows the monoglot English to be 50 per cent. of the population, and the bilinguals to be 35 per cent., thus leaving the monoglot Welsh at 15 per cent. In the diocese of Llandaff the services are: 1108 in English, 121 in Welsh, and 11 bilingual.

In the ecclesiastical parishes of Wales, situated in the four Welsh dioceses, there are 1527 churches, situated as follows:—

Bangor	254
Llandaff	451
St. Asaph	227
St. David's	595
Total	1527

To this should be added nineteen churches which, although within the boundaries of Wales, belong to parishes in English dioceses.

The number of clergy officiating both as incumbents and as assistant clergy in the four Welsh dioceses are as follows, making a total of 1597 :—

	Incumbents.	Assistant Clergy.	Others.
Bangor . . .	144	68	22
Llandaff. . . .	246	256	19
St. Asaph . . .	209	89	...
St. David's . . .	369	148	27
Total . . .	968	561	68

In 1831 there were 290 resident clergy; in 1905 there were 517.

There are 811 parsonage houses in Wales, divided as follows: Bangor diocese, 129; Llandaff, 204; St. Asaph, 179; St. David's, 299. In 1831 there were 186 parsonage houses (110 fit, and 76 unfit for residence). In 1905 there were 299.

The accommodation provided by the Church of England in Wales is 22·8 per cent. of the total population of Wales, a percentage slightly above the corresponding percentage (22 per cent.) of Church of England accommodation to the total population in England and Wales together. The distribution of this accommodation in counties shows that it is greater in the rural than in the industrial counties, and greater in the counties in which Welsh predominates than in the rest of Wales. There are certain considerations to be taken into account in dealing with accommodation in the churches of the Church of England in rural and industrial districts respectively :—

(1) In the old parish churches in rural districts, especially in some of the counties in which Welsh predominates, there is often more than enough room owing to the rise of Non-conformity since such churches were built.

(2) This superfluity of accommodation is also often due in such districts to the decrease of population owing to the exodus to towns and industrial districts.

(3) The ancient parish churches in rural districts are often inconveniently situated at a distance from existing villages and hamlets, and not rarely in the extreme corner of a parish of extensive area. On this account additional churches and mission-rooms have to be built in order to bring Church of England accommodation within available reach of the population.

(4) Evidence was given as to the efforts made by the Church of England to build new churches to meet the rapid growth of the population in industrial districts. It was stated that in the South Wales coal-field, in 1896 there were 336 churches and mission-rooms for an estimated population of 950,000, *i.e.* one for every 2827 people, and, in 1906, 481 churches and mission-rooms for an estimated population of 1,105,506, or one for every 2298 people.

As to the question of Endowments, the Commissioners defined them as follows:—

The properties of the Church of England into which we are directed to inquire may be vested by Act of Parliament in a statutory body such as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, or they may be vested in persons, as in the case of glebe lands or parsonage houses, which are vested in the rector of a parish, or as in the case of tithes (for which is now substituted the tithe commutation rent-charge), to collect which the incumbent has a legal right. It would seem, however, that what is really important and intended to be ascertained is the property which the law recognises as appropriated to the maintenance of the Church of England. Assuming that long-continued appropriation to Church maintenance of the temporalities, endowments, and properties gives in law the legal right to enforce such appropriation, and makes the temporalities, endowments, and other properties so appropriated those "of the Church of England" within the meaning of the terms of reference, we shall proceed to deal with what may be described as the origin, nature, amount, and application.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have under their management in the four Welsh dioceses property consisting of lands, houses, and tithe rent-charge producing the net annual revenue of £35,609. The division is—Bangor, £4694; Llandaff, £12,496; St. Asaph, £7173; and St. David's, £11,246. Glebe lands are totalled at about 39,017 acres, divided between the dioceses as follows:—

	Acres.
Bangor	4,283
Chester	28
Hereford	564
Lichfield	64
Llandaff	7,776
St. Asaph	3,985
St. David's	22,313

According to the figures laid before the Commission by diocesan witnesses, the sum of £3,332,385 was expended out of voluntary contributions in the four Welsh dioceses upon the restoration and extension of ancient churches and the building of new churches between 1840 and 1906, being on the average at an annual rate of £35,335 between 1840 and 1874, £58,590 between 1874 and 1892, and £79,407 between 1892 and 1906. Expenditure under £500 on any particular church is excluded from the returns made for the first two of these three periods.

The Report gives the totals of voluntary contributions made for parsonage houses from 1840 to 1906 as follows: Llandaff, £143,300; St. David's, £204,170; St. Asaph, £105,019; Bangor, £123,033.

The largest item in parochial Church statistics is the sum of £68,853, collected for church building and burial-grounds. This sum does not include grants from the Incorporated Church Building Society nor from diocesan church building boards. The diocesan statistics show that from 1892 to 1906 the sum voluntarily contributed for church building, restoration, and furnishing for the four dioceses was £1,111,703.

So far as can be ascertained grants were made by the Church Building Commissioners and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners towards the building, extension, or restoration of

35 churches in Wales, the total of the grants in 34 cases being £21,658, while of the remaining cases it was not possible to obtain particulars. The latest of such grants appears to have been made in 1864, and the funds provided under the above-mentioned Acts have long since been exhausted, so that in recent years the sums spent on church building and restoration in Wales have had to be provided by private donations and by the subscriptions of the Church of England Church Extension and Building Societies. The total amount of voluntary contributions for this purpose for the four Welsh dioceses since 1840, so far as ascertainable, is given in the diocesan statistics as £3,332,365.

The total gross annual income of the parochial endowments in Wales is stated by Sir Lewis Dibdin to be £241,383, taking tithe rent-charge at its value in 1906. The average gross annual income of each beneficed clergyman is £249, 7s. 3d. from this source. In addition, sums amounting in the whole to £48,972, 16s. 6d. have been provided in the year from Easter 1905 to Easter 1906 by voluntary contributions in Wales towards the emoluments of the clergy (beneficed and assistant). This is expended chiefly on the payment of assistant curates, of whom there are 561 in the four dioceses. Taking the average stipend at the very low average of £120 per annum, it is seen that the total required would be £67,320, of which a sum of £14,770 is paid in grants by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. This leaves £52,550 to be raised from voluntary sources, local or central; a portion of this comes in grants from the central societies, the Additional Curates' Society, and the Church Pastoral Aid Society, for which collections and offertories are made in the various churches, but are not included in the sum of £48,972. Further, in the dioceses of St. Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff there are Diocesan Church Extension Societies, which make grants towards the support of additional curates and lay assistants for the purpose of providing extra or additional English or Welsh services where required.

The incomes of parochial incumbents are supplemented by the action of Diocesan Clergy Sustentation Funds, affiliated to the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund.

Speaking generally of the organisation of the Church of England, the Report of the Commissioners says :—

"The Church of England has long since outgrown its legal constitution, which is now supplemented in various directions by organisations of a voluntary character, such as the Provincial Houses of Laymen and the Representative Church Council, on the one hand, and the Diocesan Conference, the Ruridecanal Conference, and, in a growing number of parishes, the Parochial Church Council, on the other. The distinguishing feature of these voluntary organisations is the growing prominence given to laymen in Wales, as in England."

The statistics for communicants at Easter in the four Welsh dioceses are as follows :—

Easter 1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.
134,234	135,964	138,782	144,411

It was found at the Commission that, roughly speaking, the communicants at Easter numbered about two-thirds of the whole. Taking, therefore, the figures for the year 1908, the total number of communicants would be 216,616. This is an increase of 23,535 in the Church communicants since the year 1905.

There has been the same steady growth in the number of confirmation candidates in the four Welsh dioceses. The numbers, according to the Church Official Year-Book of 1907, were as follows :—

For the ten years 1886–1895 . . .	101,189
For the ten years 1896–1905 . . .	110,753

Making the same comparison as before, the Church Sunday scholars are as follows :—

1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.
164,584	178,688	182,180	186,393

The infant baptisms for the last nine years, according to the Official Year-Book of the Church, averaged 32·2 per cent. of the total number of births.

The annual reports of the Registrar-General give the

details as to marriages in Wales. The following are the figures for 1908:—

Church.	Non-conformist.	Roman Catholic.	Jews.	Registry Office.
5518	4828	510	22	6714

The Church figures are the highest figures in nine years.

It is a noteworthy fact that the more the Church asserts herself in number and influence, the more she antagonises those who abhor the Catechism, and who do not believe in giving the Church the benefit of State relationship to teach that Catechism. But as it is the inherent necessity of evil to breed evil, so it is the inherent necessity of goodness to spread goodness. The Church is producing and distributing that which is the inherent quality of her character. She is scattering around her the light of God. Her moral tone is excellent, so is her method of doing right and good things. She is daily coming into closer touch with the people, helping and inspiring them, and making herself more and more a necessity to the social and spiritual well-being of the community. As to the statement that the Church is prosperous only in English districts and large towns, it will suffice to point out that the Church communicants on the roll in the Archdeaconry of Cardigan, in the statistics for 1905–6, numbered 12,122, which represents a percentage to population of 14·9, the highest for any Archdeaconry in the diocese. It may be stated, as a general fact, that the more purely Welsh parts are those where Nonconformity pre-eminently rallies the sympathies of the people. But half the population speak English only, and Nonconformity claims a very small percentage of these. The census of 1901 showed that there were in Wales (omitting those under three years of age) 1,577,141 who speak English, and that of that number 928,222 (half the population) speak English only. Of that number all the Nonconformist bodies only claim as members 127,778, while the Calvinistic Methodists, the strongest body in Wales, only claim 24,613 members.

A review of the present favourable condition of the Church in Wales would not be complete without a generous reference to the part played by the High Church element. It has been said that since the era of the Oxford Movement the Church of England has lost something of her national character, and has become more and more the Church of a sect. This is not true of Wales. The Church in that portion of the realm is re-establishing her national character, and she is doing it in a marked measure through the efforts of the clergy of High Church proclivities. They, more than any, recognise that all classes alike have a claim upon their time, love, charity, and their varied experience. They are bringing the Church, as a spiritual body, into closer touch with the poor and suffering. Wherever they are found, there philanthropy is seen at its best, and best because most real, and real because disinterested. They have invested the idea of Churchmanship with a more exalted meaning; they have made the services of the Church more æsthetic and devotional, they have impressed the importance of order and dignity in the forms of worship, and have combined in their ministrations the useful and the romantic side of religion; they have taught principles, and have themselves been the best examples of those principles.

There are disruptive forces in the Church, and to ignore them is neither good sense nor good Churchmanship. Sir Lewis Dibdin said recently that there is no royal road to a more representative state of things in the Anglican Church. Is there any road? Surely it ought to be possible for the laity, without violating catholic order, to have a larger share in the election of ministers, in discipline and administration. It is contended that their capacity has not been demonstrated; but they have not had the opportunity, and cannot have under the present system of patronage, the freehold status of benefices, and the indefiniteness of Church membership. If a clergyman does not do his work there ought to be some power to remove him. A representative patronage board for each diocese, on which the parish concerned could be effectually represented, would meet the difficulty. Even the clergy themselves suffer under the present system, and the Church must have the power to readjust her material means, and use them with

greater justice to the clergy as a whole. In modern conditions the Welsh, like the English Bishops, have to face a very difficult, if not an impossible task. It is not a question of physical and nervous strength only, but the intellectual and spiritual force of the episcopate must suffer when the daily life of the Bishops is overweighted with the heavy mass of correspondence and details of routine administration. Some re-arrangement is needed in the interest of the Church, the people, and the Bishops themselves. The growth of population in Glamorgan and Monmouth has been enormous. In Monmouth new valleys, such as the Rhymney Valley, are emerging from a comparatively rural condition to that of a densely populated area. In the Pontypool and Newport districts there has been a tremendous increase of population, and the stupendous growth in Glamorgan has by no means reached its height. It is, therefore, evident that if the Church is to be effective in coping with the responsibility of this changed state of things its organisation must be adapted and made equal to the work. If one bishop were required to meet the needs of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire in days gone by, and found the diocese as it then was as great a sphere of labour as it was possible for him to fulfil, there can be no doubt that a solitary bishop, however active and eminent he may be, must find it impossible to deal effectively with the work in the diocese as it is now.

It is worthy of note that these two counties, in which the increase of population has been most marked, are totally different in their needs and characteristics. They have never amalgamated into a compact whole. Whereas one finds a considerable amount of organic entity between North and South Glamorgan, there is no such entity—socially or otherwise—between Monmouthshire and Glamorgan. With the exception of the parish of Rhymney and a few portions of Rhymney Valley, Monmouthshire is practically an English county. The county of Monmouth would make a very workable diocese; the ancient bishopric of Caerleon might with advantage be revived. It is a place very dear to readers and lovers of Welsh romance. There is a strong current of opinion in this direction among the people in the western and the

north-western portions of Monmouthshire. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that access to the cathedral of the diocese at Llandaff is very difficult. Monmouthshire contains at least four churches of almost cathedral status—the Priory at Abergavenny; the beautiful Church of St. Mary, Monmouth; the quiet, grand old Norman church at Chepstow; and the wonderful old church at St. Woolos, Newport. In answer to the objection to making Monmouthshire a separate diocese, an objection based on the ground of historical continuity, it must be asked in all seriousness whether the sentimental idea of historical continuity is to outweigh the very urgent and practical consideration of work and necessary ecclesiastical organisation. The fact that Monmouthshire is the oldest constitutive county of the diocese of Llandaff ought not to stand in the way of the future usefulness of the Church in these two dioceses. A subdivision of the several Welsh dioceses is necessary and inevitable.

As to the best method of meeting the difficulty in Wales, it is clear that the creation of additional suffragan bishops without jurisdiction would not be a permanently satisfactory solution. The position of a suffragan bishop is anomalous and insecure, and it is as confusing to the minds of the people as it must be to the suffragan bishops themselves. The suffragan bishop has no jurisdiction, as the archdeacons have, neither has he any status in the convocations of the province. The suffragan bishop is not an archdeacon, and a new diocesan is at liberty to dispense with his services. He has no statutory position. The practice of attaching a suffragan bishop to a benefice, whether that benefice be a town or a country one, is most undesirable. There is a feeling that the present difficulty could be met, to some extent, if the archdeaconries were accepted as the areas, and if every archdeaconry were erected into a suffragan bishopric. The matter is now in its academic stage, and it is obvious that there must be a division of opinion, not as to the necessity of reform, but as to the most effective solution. That the various dioceses, especially such a diocese as that of Llandaff, is too large and scattered for the supervision of one bishop, there is not, and cannot be, any doubt. The present time we are told is not the most opportune to

undertake such a task. There has always been some reason with Church authorities in Wales. "The time has not come," is an old Church cry. "The advisability of reform will arise when it becomes possible," is another. But a Church that claims to be full of life surely ought not to be afraid to let that life give evidence of its existence in power of adjustment to environment. If Church authorities had, long ago, faced this and other difficulties, as practical questions, the Church in Wales to-day would be much stronger.

There is a strong and a growing opinion that the solution of this particular difficulty lies in the direction of a subdivision of the dioceses, and an increase of the episcopate. Four bishops at £1000 a year each would be worth more to the Welsh Church, the clergy, and the parishes than one bishop at £4000 a year. The present incomes of the four Welsh bishoprics amount to £17,100 a year. This sum if judicially divided would prove an adequate stipend for nine Welsh bishops. This would reduce both the work and the responsibility, and would go far towards giving the prelates the opportunity of being Fathers in God in reality as well as in name. It is not at all necessary that a Bishop should have the income of a Cabinet Minister, though he may, like the energetic Bishop of St. David's, be far more deserving of it.

The desire for a larger measure of self-government in the Church does not cover the question of doctrine; it does embrace the question of ritual. It is a truism that some clerics, who claim a large measure of spiritual freedom, combined with the Establishment, do alter, and alter drastically, the Book of Common Prayer, to suit what possibly legitimately looks as modern needs. There are, on the other hand, many devout and intelligent laymen who consider that certain forms of ritual are being introduced which are foreign to the spirit of Anglicanism. These forms are antagonistic to their personal temperament, and they claim the privilege of consultation in the interpretation of the rubrics, and the intentions of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer. It is also felt that a book which, in its present form, belongs to the time of Charles II., calls for many modifications, if it is to continue to appeal to the people. It has not been altered for two hundred

and fifty years, though it might be retorted that there has been no alteration of the Roman Catholic service book for more than a thousand years. But social life has changed since 1662, and the Prayer Book is likely to lose much of its educational value, in these and future days of quickened social movement, unless it is brought into closer touch with the modern mind. To permit the maledictory psalms to be used in Divine service is to unconsciously propagate pre-Christian morality. There are many who are anxious to be Christians and Churchmen, if only they are allowed to avow themselves as such without losing their intellectual sincerity. Of this it is certain that the ultimate destiny of the Church of England as the national exponent of English Christianity depends, in a great degree upon whether means will be found to utilise the growing mass of lay feeling, and lay opinions, that is by no means indifferent to religion, or to Church religion.

It is a great misfortune that none of the Welsh bishops or leaders of the Welsh Church did not years ago take active steps to induce Convocation and Parliament to authorise a revision of the Welsh Prayer Book. The Roman Catholics some time ago published a Welsh Prayer Book with the imprimatur of Cardinal Vaughan. They experienced some difficulty in finding, in their own communion, men capable of undertaking the task, and they enlisted the co-operation of at least one Protestant professor of the South Wales University College. The Welsh of the Roman Catholic service book is as faultless and idiomatic as that contained in any book of devotion published in the Welsh language. It compares favourably with the Welsh Prayer Book of the Mother Church. This diplomatic act accords well with the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, viz. adapting herself to the needs and prevailing conditions of the districts or nations that she seeks to impress. What suits England may not suit Wales or India or the Colonies. What suited Wales a generation ago may not suit present-day Wales. Much of the phraseology in the Welsh Prayer Book in the Anglican Church is stiff and uncouth and quite beyond the comprehension of the great majority of Welsh worshippers. An effort should be made even at this late hour, in the declining years of Welsh Wales,

to render the language of the Prayer Book as plain and as clear as that of the Welsh Bible. The style of some of the exhortations is so involved that but few, if any, of the Welsh who hear them read out can follow their meaning. Many of the rubrics are much more obscure than they are in English.

The absurd system, or want of system, in the preferment of the clergy is causing grave dissatisfaction both to the laity and to the general body of the clergy. This is entirely apart from the unreasonable attitude of those who harbour imaginary grievances. It explains the unusual dearth of curates in the Welsh Church. To this may be added the acute distinction between the Church and the sects, with its attendant social unsettlement. The more enterprising of them make their way to England, where the same political conditions do not prevail. What the assistant clergy demand as a matter of justice is the inherent right of promotion, and equality of opportunity for promotion. They also ask for security of tenure. The Church will ordain no man without a title, which means in effect provision for his maintenance. In pre-Reformation times it was possible to obtain a title on patrimony. To-day a fellowship at one of the Universities will be accepted as a title. But under the present-day system, the intention of the Church is kept by a legal fiction. A man has a title to a curacy, and the bishop guarantees him his stipend, after receiving from the incumbent of the parish a written undertaking that he will be responsible for the income. So long as the curate remains in his first curacy he is a clergyman of sorts, for the bishop is bound to maintain him. But when he has left that he has lost his title, and his position henceforth is no better than that of a paid servant. This is the grievance of curates who have been many years in orders.

The unbeneficed clergy have no status, or effective representation in the Lower House of Convocation. It is more than an anomaly that a priest of twenty years' standing should have no part or lot in the Parliament of the Church. The disproportion between the elected and the official members is admittedly a state of things that cannot continue without detriment to the best interests of the Church.

As to the question of pensions for the clergy, Church

dignitaries had better, first of all, decide the problem of a *living wage*. They have no moral right to make contributions to the pension fund *compulsory*; it would not be an honest business transaction. Before the clergy can make, or help to make, provision for their old age, it is necessary that they should be given a living wage during their working years. To expect the general body of the laity to co-operate in this matter while the present system of preferment lasts, is hopeless. True, it is painfully obvious that there are, among the Welsh clergy, men who would not be able to earn £120 at any other business. If they were suddenly thrown on their own resources they would be in a serious predicament. This, however, does not affect the general problem. In looking at this matter in the light of the question of celibacy, it is clear that spiritual needs of congested towns and mining districts, and the ever-increasing exactions of clerical life, demand the revival, in some form, of the community of life for priests. To this the anti-celibate will reply, and with some force, that the men who have made England, were the children of the manse and of the parsonage. Viewed on the lower ground of prudential considerations, celibacy would be preferable to a distracted family existence, with nothing better, in anticipation, in case of protracted sickness, or total disability, than supercilious charity.

The present system of training candidates for the Anglican ministry is highly unsatisfactory; it does not even compare well with the system that prevails among the principal denominations. Provided the necessary personal, intellectual, and religious requirements are present, training for holy orders should be made from the beginning, easy, if not absolutely free. In Nonconformity young men have the opportunity, and the stimulus, to cultivate the gift of utterance, and to develop other latent talents that run in the direction of the ministry. The Church might, with advantage, take this lesson to heart. Moreover, their education ought to be the best procurable. During the last nine years 133 candidates have been ordained in the Llandaff diocese, but only 26 of them came up to the standard laid down by the Upper House of Convocation, and only 63 had taken degrees

in the College of Lampeter. Some very worthy men have passed through this institution, but, except when the force of circumstances has ordained otherwise, they are foredoomed to country parishes and the industrial districts. Oxford and Cambridge men are sent to the towns and cathedrals. Lampeter continues to speak in mediæval allegories. It disdains the Welsh sentiment of nationality; it maintains an unequal fight with the University colleges to the disadvantage of the Church and the clergy. The late Dean Vaughan was quick to recognise the changed conditions of modern life in Wales. He lent his great influence to the University College of Cardiff. Church people have contributed handsomely toward these University colleges, and he saw no reason why the Church should not benefit from them. The events that have transpired meanwhile have amply justified his attitude. Nonconformity realised from the first the necessity of accommodating itself to the new situation. No sooner were the colleges founded than it seized on the facilities offered, while the clergy, taking their lead from headquarters, have too long allowed these privileges to go by default, and held aloof in half-suspicious, half-timid isolation.

The Welsh clergy do not appear to attach much importance to preaching. Too many of them fail to do, and to be, their best—in the pulpit. The average Welshman is fond of good sermons—and good music. A sermon with summer in it, comforts him in the very source of his feelings—his heart. To give him this comfort, not as a Sunday luxury, but in such a way that it shall stimulate his best feelings, and establish him in all that he speaks, all that he purposes, and all that he does, is among the highest of all the services that a sympathetic and cultivated minister can render his congregation. Among the Nonconformists it is the atmosphere that pervades, overhangs, and interpenetrates the whole activity of the thought, the sentiment, and the imagination of the hearers. The idea of worship is practically inoperative. Preaching is underestimated in the Anglican Church as it is over-estimated in Nonconformity. "Oh! don't preach," is a common form of protest in the Church. To a cleric that cannot, it is very necessary. But to rebuke and to give exhortation is the

function of the pulpit; and to know how to do it is an art. This contempt for preaching often implies that exhortation can be done without, and that the Church would be none the worse without the pulpit. A revival of interest in preaching —cultured, eloquent, practical, and sympathetic—is one of the great necessities of the Welsh Church at this hour.

As the Welsh clergy underestimate preaching so they underestimate conversion. They avoid it as a side of religion only fitted to be preached to men in their lowest savagism. Certain types of Revivalists and Evangelists have brought the terms into disrepute, just as the term Protestantism has been covered with obloquy by the associations it has formed. There is a sentiment that conversion is fictitious, and that men are deluded in regard to it. They *are* certainly deluded when they relate it, essentially, to paroxysms of terror and darkness, with prayers and praise that burst out spontaneously. All these are incidental, not characteristic. A man may have every one of them, and yet not be a Christian. Some natures do have convictions through such feelings; but a sense of reconciliation does not necessarily mean ecstasy, or a love to pray. Many who loved to pray, and who could do it with Demosthenian and Ciceronian eloquence, have been lost. Selfishness cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. By conversion is meant a rising out of the spirit of self-seeking selfishness into the spirit of true love and beneficence. Nothing less than the Holy Spirit of God can lift a man up into such an experience; and what a noble experience it is! Conversion is possible; conversion is indispensable. But very little of the necessity for it is emphasised from Welsh Anglican pulpits, both High and Low. The ideal seems to be a well-conducted service, pleasant to the individual understanding and to the tastes in modern society. On purely academic grounds there is no reason why people should not enjoy themselves under such circumstances. But a congregation may be of great scope intellectually, and yet be far from the kingdom of God. Acquisition in self-culture is not growth in grace. Religion does stimulate culture, but culture is not religion. The test of religion is the intensity and productiveness of the principle of love. Is not the discovery that a man's life has been set

to the wrong key, that he is all the while living away from light and divinity, of any consequence to him? It is conviction, and conviction of the most poignant kind, searching and unappeasable, that can reveal to man the fact that he is contravening the law of purity and of happiness. It is through His Church that God is trying to convert the world, and to transform it into His ideas. If the Welsh clergy, High and Low, were to speak oftener to both baptized and unbaptized, as to the importance of conversion, not as an abstract truth, but as a personal experience, and frame their teaching accordingly, they would bring Christian union much nearer than it is.

In considering the bearing of the Report of the Church Commission upon the position of Nonconformity, we must bear in mind that, from a statistical view-point, it was a favourable period for Nonconformity, for it was the second year of the Welsh Revival. The reaction which set in is still in progress among all the sects. Taking together the four largest denominations, the Baptists, Calvinistic Methodists, Congregationalists, and Wesleyans, their total members in 1905, including the Roman Catholics (who number 64,800), were 615,080. On page 139 of the Report, which is a memorandum signed by Lord Hugh Cecil and Archdeacon Evans of Carmarthen, it is claimed that the statistics show that all who are attached more or less closely to Nonconformist denominations are less than one-half of the estimated population of Wales in 1905. This conclusion is based on a computation which, according to the two gentlemen named, has only a provisional value. The computation is based on certain ratios as to the number of adherents to the full members of the Nonconformist bodies. It was once thought by the Commissioners that it might be possible to secure statistics as to the number of adherents of the various churches who are not communicants or full members; but it was found to be difficult to secure proper data upon this head, sufficiently accurate for statistical purposes. Figures of some value were, however, obtained from the Calvinistic Methodist denomination. They show that the number of adherents to full members in that denomination is 40·12 per cent., and if we take, as Lord Hugh

Cecil and Archdeacon Evans have done, the ratio of 40 per cent. as applying to all the other denominations, we get the following result:—

The total number of full members, plus the Sunday-school scholars under fifteen years of age, is 943,958, and if we add to that figure 40 per cent. for adherents, the result is a total of 1,099,270, and if we add the Roman Catholics (64,800) we find that 1,164,070 are more or less attached closely to the Nonconformist denominations, and as the estimated population of Wales in 1905 was 2,144,390, it is clear that more than half the population was Nonconformist in the broad sense. There are 5000 ministers and local preachers in the Nonconformist denominations.

The accommodation provided by the Nonconformists is 74 per cent. of the population. This is greatly in excess of the number of persons who may reasonably be expected to avail themselves of it. The population of Cardiganshire, according to the census of 1911, is 59,877, but the Protestant Nonconformist denominations have provided accommodation for 75,000 in that county alone. The estimated number of Nonconformist Sunday scholars under fifteen years of age in that county is given as 15,317. The census of 1901 proves that the total number of children from five to fifteen years of age was only 12,195. The Church of England claims 3115 Sunday scholars. This brings the total up to 18,432 children under fifteen years of age in the county. This means that there are 6239 more children in all the Sunday Schools of that county than the total enumerated in the 1901 census. The only way of ascertaining the truth seems to be by a Government religious census. The multiplication of chapels in Wales must not be taken as evidence of real Christian activity, for overlapping and unhappy secessions account for the existence of very many of them. A little sense of humour might have prevented many of the schisms that have taken place. Quite a number of these bodies are struggling for existence; they are a source of social irritation in the districts where they are situated, and do not supply any real religious want. The number of chapels and mission-rooms where Divine worship is held is given as 4669. This figure includes not only the

four great denominations, but also the smaller Nonconformist denominations. It gives the Nonconformist churches approximately one place of worship for 450 people in Wales.

The following table, compiled from the year-books, gives the number of the ministers and preachers of each of the four chief denominations in Wales. The number of chapels in each case has been taken from the county statistics:—

Denomination.	Chapels, including Mission-Rooms.	Ordained Ministers in Charge.	Ordained Ministers without Charge.	Local and Lay Preachers.
Baptist	985	583	172	416
Calvinistic Methodist	1620	600	215	163
Congregationalist	1306	635	116	331
Wesleyan	615	187	18	953
Total	4526	2005	521	1863

The following figures indicate the contributions towards the ministry and maintenance of services in the Welsh counties:—

Anglesey	£14,400
Brecon	13,042
Cardigan	16,170
Carmarthen	31,910
Carnarvon	34,500
Denbigh	24,622
Flint	12,926
Glamorgan	185,174
Merioneth	16,588
Monmouth	43,276
Montgomery	12,091
Pembroke	18,180
Radnor	3,718
Total	426,597

Inasmuch as Nonconformity benefited statistically because the second year of the Welsh Revival was taken by the Commissioners as the basis of computation, it is only just to state that Nonconformity has suffered severely through the reaction,

and the end of which Nonconformity has not yet seen. Nonconformity has lost of late years not only in numbers, but in influence. Its increase has not been commensurate with the increase in population, nor with the comparative increase of Anglican adherents. Its religious activity is not equal to its political activity. There is a distinct dent in that vibrant vein of spirituality which has been historically identified with the Welsh Nonconformist pulpit. It is better educated, technically, than was the Welsh pulpit in the beginning or the middle of the last century. The old preachers were not cultivated in the sense culture is now understood. They had no coherent philosophic system of study, and their library was astonishingly small. The essence of their power lay in their intimate acquaintance with the Bible, their gift of utterance, and their intense spirituality. They emphasised the Atonement, and their view of it was sufficiently concrete to be understood of the people. Unworthy attempts have been made to fix upon them the responsibility for the social disturbances which spread through Wales at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But very few Nonconformists participated in the agitations which took place in the industrial communities of Wales during the riots of 1839. The preachers and churches of those times, as well as of an earlier period, were not backward in inculcating the principle of civic duty. Indeed, a certain justice of the peace told the Rev. Ebenezer Morris, "You are worth more than a dozen of us." The truth is that they were the unpaid police of the Principality.

The Welsh Nonconformist pulpit of this age is not so effective from a purely religious view-point. It is essential that the pulpit should co-operate in the furtherance of all matters relating to social questions; but it ought not to interfere in party politics. This the Welsh Nonconformist pulpit has done, and done to its own detriment. The political temper is reflected in almost every Nonconformist gathering; there is always a disposition to insist controversially on Disestablishment. Constructive spiritual statesmanship is a thing unknown among Welsh Nonconformists to-day. Its essential weakness is that it lacks the higher mystical element.

Political declamation cannot supply it, and rhetorical effusions cannot atone for its absence. Welsh Dissent needs something more than an eloquent platform; it needs adoration; it needs the spiritual element to permeate rational thinking.

Neither is the Welsh Nonconformist pulpit of this hour intellectually up-to-date. It lacks breadth of outlook. Even its younger men who have passed through our Universities, are frivolously unthinking, and sadly out of touch with the poor. The blithe manner in which they either pass over, or explain, problems of the gravest import, is as interesting as it is discouraging. The Welsh youth of to-day are in the throes of the intellectual ferment; daily they are in contact with new modes of thought; they live in an atmosphere of suspended judgment, and mental curiosity. What scepticism there is in them does not tend to unbelief in essentials; it has a believing rather than an unbelieving trend. The heart is right and the mind, if uncertain, is healthy. What can be more repulsive to them than the sight of people on Sunday whose heaven seems to be to listen to sermons they never dream of living, or to sing hymns whose truths they have never experienced! From the pulpit are echoed old creeds and commonplaces, by men who have graduated in Wales, but who are of incomplete acquisition, and who have scarcely touched the latest sources of information. Speaking generally of the Welsh pulpit, it may be stated that the old things are held tenaciously, and held for the same old reasons and in the same old sense. Such reasons do not prove as available and full of force for the present generation. The maxim that is fast coming into vogue is, that truth changes—not in its identity but its likeness—to meet the new requirements of credibility and sympathy. One of the fundamental defects of the Welsh pulpit is that it adheres to the old truth, in its old form and in its old experience.

As to the question of stipend, it should be stated that owing to the multiplicity of chapels there are many churches that cannot afford to pay good salaries; there are also very many ministers of an inferior type who receive, by way of remuneration, quite as much as they are entitled to, and probably more than they would be able to make in those

spheres of industry where they could be put to use. However, taking the best average on both sides, the Welsh ministry is sadly underpaid. It is entirely a question of education. At a meeting of the Welsh Congregational Union held at Aberaman, South Wales, July 11, 1911, the Chairman stated the case of one minister who had been in charge of the same three churches for thirty-five years, walked twelve miles every Sunday, preaching three times, for a pittance of less than £35 a year. Another for thirty years only received 13s. a week.

Y Goleuad, the official organ of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, in discussing this painful question, gave particular instances which were claimed to be typical of a large number of cases. One was that of a well-known ordained minister who had spent several years in college training for the ministry. The minister in question spent practically three days from home keeping his Sabbath engagement. On Sunday he preached three sermons, at morning, afternoon, and evening services, walking several miles to each. He conducted four separate baptismal services in four different farms. He walked fourteen miles and paid six shillings in railway fares. He was paid one pound for his services, which left him on his return home fourteen shillings towards the maintenance of a family of five for the week. At the last quarterly meeting of the North Carnarvonshire Congregational Association, instances were given of ordained ministers in pastoral charge in Carnarvonshire to-day, whose stipends only amount to fifteen shillings, ten shillings, and, in one case, only to seven shillings and sixpence per week. Statistics were quoted for the whole of Wales, from which it appeared that one pastor of every three belonging to the denomination, is in receipt of a stipend not exceeding eighty pounds per annum. Twelve per cent. of the ministers are content with salaries ranging from seventy to eighty pounds, eight per cent. receive only from sixty to seventy pounds, six per cent. get only from fifty to sixty pounds, four per cent. receive from forty to fifty pounds, and three per cent. do not receive forty pounds per annum—twentieth-century Vicars of Wakefield! As against this thirty-three per cent. in the Welsh ministry, only seventeen per cent. in the English ministry receive stipends of less than eighty pounds per annum.

As indicating how impossible it is under existing circumstances to make provision for old age, it transpired that only thirty-five per cent. of the ministers of the denomination in Wales to-day are members of the Welsh Congregational Pastors' Provident Society, although the annual subscription is only one pound, while only eight per cent. are members of the Congregational Pastors' Retiring Fund.

This is the one sad and unpardonable blot on the character of Welsh Nonconformity. "We shall now make the collection," said a Welsh minister a short while ago, at the close of a preaching service. "I know," he continued, "that you will only give pennies, but we might as well sing the *golden harp*." The difference between the Welsh and the English religious individual is, that whereas if you ask the Englishman to give expression to his feelings, he will put his hand in his pocket; the Welshman will sing a hymn. Generosity is not a Cambrian quality. It is a wonder how the ministerial temper contains itself amid conditions so terribly unjust. It is, further, a wonder how the individuals who comprise the denomination find it in their conscience to continue to behave so disgracefully to their ministers. The various sects are beginning to realise the gravity of the crisis, and it is proposed to raise if possible a central fund so as to ensure a minimum stipend of eighty pounds a year for every pastor. An organised official effort is to be made to this end.

What of Reunion? Because there is a tendency to aggregation among peoples, and because the spirit of combination is abroad in the material sphere, it is thought by some that it will ultimately come into the spiritual realm, and embrace both Church and Nonconformity. It is a delusion. Those Churchmen—sincere as they may be—who console themselves with the hope and expectation that Welsh Nonconformity will some day, in the near future, return to the old fold, evidently do not understand the spirit of modern Nonconformity. There are only two alternatives: either a return to the Celtic Church as it existed in pre-Latin days, or the acceptance of the present Anglican system. Both are impossible. Welsh Nonconformists avow that if the Bill for Disestablishment and Disendowment comes to pass, it will not

be the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of David and of Teilo, but the Church of Laud and of Elizabeth. The old Celtic Church, independent of both Pope and Sovereign, they venerate; but the Church that passed under the rule of Canterbury, they say they do not want. To them the present Anglican system represents English—therefore alien—modes of thought and government; and which they consider arbitrary and foreign to Celtic instincts. Welshmen in general do not believe in the theory of Divine right, and to be preached to by a man in whose appointment they have no voice, and to venerate him as their minister, is contrary to their ideas and temperament. They even become reminiscent, and talk of Tudor legislation, of the Act of Uniformity, the abuses of the past, and a thousand other things. The difference in the estimation of the Nonconformist is a difference in heredity, principle, history, and ideal. They are two systems that represent two different and irreconcilable sets of ideas.

The Roman Catholics need not be considered, for the four great Nonconformist bodies are so distinctly and earnestly Protestant that not only would they not invite Roman Catholic priests to preach in their chapels, but would not co-operate with them socially. The co-operation of Catholics is more readily welcomed in England, and it is more marked in England than it was in the days of Cardinal Manning. Doubtless the greater desire for, and readiness to accept, the assistance of Roman Catholics in England, in the work of ameliorating the conditions of the people, is due in a large measure to the influence which he exercised. In 1850 there were in England and Wales 587 churches, 99 schools, 11,000 children attending school, and 788 priests. To-day there are 1760 churches, 1064 schools, 339,000 children attending school, and 3687 priests. The Roman Catholics in Wales number 64,800, and they are mostly Irish Roman Catholics. It is quite improper to add this number to the Nonconformist total. The Roman Catholics disdain the Nonconformists quite as much as the Nonconformists disdain them. Though there is no open hostility, the Nonconformists are farther apart from the Roman Catholics than they are from the Anglicans. These two bodies have nothing in common.

There is *some* evidence of co-operation between Nonconformists and Anglicans in certain matters affecting the well-being of the people; but it is very little, and in matters of Divine worship there is none, and there can be none, for the *doctrinal* objections on the side of the Church are of such a character that religious co-operation would destroy rather than promote unity. Then there is the legal objection which prevents an unlicensed preacher from occupying the pulpit of the Church, and the conditions of licence which impose, among other things, declaration of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles.

The Archbishop of York has expressed his judgment, and his judgment always commands respect, that the present is a time of preparation. So far as Wales is concerned, while the Establishment continues, the Nonconformist will be adamant itself. It is difficult to decide as to which of the two is the more grotesque—the misconception of Nonconformity by ignorant Churchmen, or the misconception of the Church of England by ignorant Nonconformists. There are Churchmen who speak of Nonconformity as if it were a thing essentially evil, a principle of decadence and corruption, a poison to be eradicated from the ecclesiastical system. They are shocked at the mere thought that the Sovereign of Great Britain should take the Sacrament, in Scotland, from Presbyters who are not priests. Some go so far as to deny that the most pious and cultured Nonconformists are within the Church of Christ at all. A Welsh dignitary declared recently from a Church pulpit that while God had blessed Nonconformity, He would punish the men responsible for it. Statements of this kind are of more consequence to him who makes them than to those concerning whom they are made. This surely is not the road to reunion. Of the Nonconformist pioneers it may be justly said that they bore witness to certain aspects of the truth that many Churchmen had forgotten or neglected. They were men of noble character, the latchet of whose shoes the ministerial political propagandist of this day is not worthy to unloose.

On the other hand, the ignorance of the average Nonconformist of the Church of England, her work, history, and

ideals, is as appalling as his hatred of her catechism. Many of the extreme men do not wish to be free from illusions. They assert and re-assert, in the face of the most positive evidence to the contrary, that the Church is maintained by the rates, that the Establishment gives to the clergy personal, social, and spiritual privileges not enjoyed by Nonconformists. They tell the people that the Book of Common Prayer is a book of Parliamentary origin, having been drawn up by the senators. When confronted with the wonderful recuperative power of the Church as a spiritual organisation, they say that what progress the Church has made has been made under the favouring auspices of the Government, that her zeal is the result of fear for their vested interests, that her advance is not the result of the spontaneous wishes of the people, but has been fostered by the wealthy and influential classes, and aided by external subsidies from such powerful agencies as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty. Such ignorance is colossal, and when one is sorrowfully obliged to add in many cases a mean motive for this ignorance, even in the case of men who shine in high places, the sectarian spirit becomes fanatical, and fanatical in the lower sphere and for the lowest objects. For men that are earnest in their convictions (and there are Nonconformists of this type), and who have knowledge and urbanity, one cannot but have respect.

It is claimed that the much admired and much abused "extreme man" on either side may serve a useful turn, and that the comprehensiveness and the reasoned liberty of the Church of England mark her out as the rallying ground of future unity. But I do not see in the present tendencies of ecclesiastical thought and policy the slightest real indication that a reunion is possible. There is plenty of vague language. If reunion is deemed practicable let the Church state the conditions, for there must be conditions. If the ideal is attainable without the Free Churches having to surrender their position, and simply join the Church on the Church's own terms, the admission of a Nonconformist minister to a Church pulpit would have to be permitted. Would the bishops permit it? The legal position of the question is doubtful. The law says that a bishop has the power to forbid, but he is not

obliged to forbid; it is left to his discretion. He does forbid. Would the Church concede this for the sake of reunion? Would she allow non-episcopally ordained ministers within the Anglican communion to celebrate the Eucharist? If she did, would it promote unity? On the contrary, it would rend the Church in twain, and leave a dismal heritage of bitter controversy and endless rancour, which would make the Church a byword among the heathen. Would the Church, for the sake of union with Nonconformity, give up the apostolic order which the Roman Church and the Churches of the East would assuredly retain? If she did, Christendom would be narrowed down to two hostile camps—Roman Catholic and Protestant—with an impassable gulf between them. Would the Anglican Church authorise non-liturgical forms of worship? All forms are good forms to those to whom they are good. There is truth in the saying that "what is one man's food is another man's poison." Orderly and methodical natures require one sort of service; emotive and poetic natures require another. Some men are freer and wilder than others, and will not take on the restraining influences of a definitely prescribed service. Would the Church for the sake of reunion have that liberty that belongs to them, or the liberty that they claim? Baptism is an admission into the Church, but the Quakers have no order and no baptism. Would they be included?

The value set upon baptism by the different Nonconformist denominations varies considerably. Among the Baptists, membership is confined to adults baptized by immersion on a profession of faith, but Free Baptists do not restrict Holy Communion to those who have been thus baptized. In the Calvinistic Methodist denomination infant baptism is confined to children of full members. Baptism is a condition of admission to full membership, but inquiry is not always made whether an applicant for admission has been baptized or not. Among Wesleyans, baptism is not an absolute condition of membership, though baptism is recommended, and members are generally baptized persons. Among the Congregationalists less stress is laid upon baptism than in the other denominations, and some Congregational ministers do not consider it an essential of Church membership. Would the Church for the

sake of reunion accommodate herself to the various sects in this important matter of baptism? What about education? The Church has a great asset in her schools. It is hardly realised what an enormous lifting power Church schools, as they now stand, are exerting in keeping up the level of the standard which the average school reaches. While Churchmen demand facilities for denominational instruction of Church children, the Nonconformists insist that no elementary school of any kind, in which religious instruction is given, shall receive a farthing of public money in any shape or form. Both parties claim that their demands are a matter of conscience and justice. It is acknowledged that the grievance is not one-sided. Churchmen, evidently, are desirous of meeting any grievances of Nonconformists, and especially to remove conscientious difficulties; but they cannot, in justice to themselves, abandon the liberty of choice as to the form of religious instruction which parents might select. Poor parents are under an obligation to send their children to school, and the State should provide for them the same opportunity for the religious education of their children as is enjoyed by their well-to-do neighbours. As to payment of rates, rates are paid by Churchmen as well as Nonconformists, and those who contribute to a common fund are entitled to equal treatment. There is no real or practical difficulty in applying the principle of parents' rights as well in the single-school areas as in the towns. Religious instruction can only be permanently maintained in an effective form in public elementary schools by perfect equality of treatment between Churchmen and Nonconformists. Nonconformists seem to forget how large a proportion of the rates come from parents who desire to have some form of denominational religious education for their children. There is every evidence that the Nonconformists, or the extreme section of Nonconformists, will resist to the uttermost any attempt at a compromise that would mean sacrificing what they call the principle of popular and complete control of public schools. Will the Church for the sake of reunion concede to the Nonconformist demand? Will she consent to the establishing of a new state religion—an interdenominational religion—endowed out of the rates and taxes? Will she give

up her right to teach all her children, wherever they may be, on equal terms with any other religion?

Furthermore, the Anglican Church has other interests to consider besides Nonconformity. There are the great communions of the Latin West and the Greek East in which, if not immediately, yet in the links of her early history, the Church of England is especially interested. Dr. Gore encourages social and philanthropic co-operation with Nonconformists, and joint meetings for prayer whenever neutral ground really offers itself. But he is very chary of doing anything which promotes the prevalent undenominational spirit. He encourages all men to be as definitely and consistently as possible members of the particular body to which in good conscience they belong. In this he most assuredly represents the feeling of the great body of Churchmen. Their position is sound in principle and logical in its application. The Anglican Church has a unique position. She is catholic and reformed. She has a history, an order, and traditions of her own. To be true to herself, the Anglican Church *must* maintain her distinctive principles; she cannot recognise affinity with Nonconformity, either in doctrine, antiquity, canonicity, or administration. Her strength lies in this position; to abandon it, or to temporise with it, would be fatal. Indeed, the difficulties that stand in the way of reunion are greater—far greater—than the difficulties that stand in the way of Disestablishment. Even if a reunion were possible, I cannot conceive how a true Churchman could desire it, for between the Church and Nonconformity there is nothing in common, either as to Christian faith or ideal.

If there be one lesson that history teaches, it is that all attempts to force a union, to compromise a union, or even to reason men into an external union, have failed. If there be one law which modern science has developed more clearly than another, it is that the initial stages are all uniform, and that development takes place by the law of differentiation; that the higher we ascend, the more endlessly do things diversify. Men coalesce into relationships, and they co-operate because they have affinities one with another. They are drawn together by similarity of taste and of understanding, by compatibility of temperament, by political affinity, and by an

interchange of kindly services. I see none of the former conditions in Anglicanism and Nonconformity, and especially in Welsh Anglicanism and Welsh Nonconformity; for the line of demarcation is wider, and the feeling more intense, in Wales than it is in England. As to the relationship that springs from the interchange of disinterested service, there is very little evidence of it in Wales, and the difference in doctrine and administration has left no room for its exercise, though it is pure justice to say that in the days before Nonconformity was transformed into a political instrument of destruction there was within it a healthy leaven of moderation, and the old Welsh parson of the catholic type was the friend and adviser of every parishioner without distinction of creed or of politics. But the forces of disintegration have been rousing asperities, and their echoes have been constantly passing. Policy, dogma, ordinances, and administrations have perpetuated and intensified the separation. I see no sign of intellectual sympathies; there is not even a trace of that mutual self-interest from which justice is said to start, and all the higher tendencies of human nature spring. A union on the basis of Disestablishment and Disendowment Anglicans do not want, and union without both Nonconformity will not have. There was a period when a reconstructed Church with a rearrangement of endowments, would have softened the asperity, and possibly would have averted a movement for which, unfortunately, there appears to be only one ending. Even when Disestablishment and Disendowment are facts of history, I foresee no likelihood of a reunion, for it will leave a great heritage of bitterness, and a sad heritage of loss and sorrow in the hearts and in the homes of men who have been faithful to their priestly duties, men who have served their Church and who have loved their land and kindred with pure and unadulterated love. It will also cut adrift, penniless and without compensation, hundreds of worthy young men whose impecunious parents struggled to educate for their life work, and many of whom sacrificed fruitful business careers to devote themselves to the services of a Church and an order of ministry, which they have adorned by their ability and disinterestedness.

CHAPTER V

DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT

THAT such an issue as Disestablishment and Disendowment should produce agitation, conflict, and misunderstanding, is inevitable. All intellectual and moral movements have been more or less stormy, and the more moral the issue the more bitter the conflict. While the agitation has consolidated Nonconformity, it has given it a more unspiritual character. Disestablishment and Disendowment has become the one great central idea of the sects, and it has become a purely political inspiration, prosecuted on political lines and by political methods for a political end.

The first pioneer in Wales of the movement was Morgan John Rhys, commonly regarded in his day as a Jacobin revolutionist. His views were expressed in the *Cylchgrawn Cymraeg* for August 1793. But it was in the year 1830 that the movement took definite shape and form, when it was championed by the Revs. D. Morgan, Llanfyllin; Arthur Jones, D.D., Bangor; Hugh Pugh, of Mostyn; Gwilym Caledfryn, and others. A Disestablishment Society was organised in the county of Merioneth, and the merits of the question were freely discussed in the Welsh Press of that period, such as *Seren Gomer*, *Y Seren Ogleddol*, *Y Dysgedydd*, *Yr Efanglydd*, *Y Diwygiwr*, etc. The movement at this stage was purely a religious movement, and was countenanced by the bulk of the Nonconformist bodies, with the exception of the Calvinistic and Wesleyan bodies, which have always been less political than the other sects. Not only did the Calvinistic Methodists refuse to participate, but they actually passed a resolution in the association held at Bala, in 1834, condemning the movement and strongly urging the people to

keep aloof from it, on the ground that it was a question that did not come within their province as a religious body. But the effect of such a resolution was partial and temporary, for the movement had come to stay. The Rev. Samuel Roberts ("S. R."), a Congregational minister, proved a source of great strength to the movement, his articles in *Y Cronicl* possessing great literary merit and power. There were several causes that gave impetus to the agitation: one was the Church rate; another was the tithe question in 1830 and 1888. Then the Liberation Society in England was founded in 1857. In 1862 a public meeting was held at Swansea to commemorate the expulsion of the 2000 from the Mother Church in 1662. It was at this gathering that the Calvinistic Methodists fell into line, and the movement assumed a political form. At the election of 1868 not less than twenty-two members were returned to Parliament from Wales, pledged to support Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment That election signalised the rise of new political forces which, unfortunately for the Anglican Church, its leaders did not appreciate or understand. In 1870 Mr. Watkyn Williams introduced into the House of Commons a measure for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, 45 voting for the motion and 209 against. Another Bill was introduced in 1886, when 229 voted for, and 241 against. In 1894 Welsh Disestablishment was officially taken up by the Liberal Government, and Mr. Asquith was deputed to bring in a Bill, the provisions of which are well known.

It is argued that there is a special case against the continuance of the Church in Wales. To this claim Churchmen answer that the Church in Wales is part of the province of Canterbury. The history of the four dioceses in Wales is practically inseparable from that of their English sisters; two hundred and fifty years ago Wales was conspicuous among other parts of the kingdom for her devotion to the Church of England and the House of Stuart. Churchmen maintain that it would be unfair and unjust to try the experiment of Disestablishment and Disendowment upon the Church in Wales, for it is the part that will be least able to bear the shock, and it would throw back the work of the Church in Wales a

hundred years. As to the contention that the Anglican Church in Wales is an alien Church, the reply is, that whatever alienation of the Welsh people from the Church there is, or may have been, it is of recent origin, and is rapidly passing away; it is not due to the Church as a spiritual body, but to maladministration at certain periods, and to various social and political causes. As to the precedent set by the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, there is in reality no parallel between the two cases: the Irish Church was not an integral part of the Church of England; its bishops were not suffragans of Canterbury or York; its clergy were not represented in either of the English Convocations. Moreover, the large majority of the people of Ireland had always been hostile to the Anglican Church. But this cannot be said of Nonconformity, for Nonconformity in Wales is not much more than two hundred and fifty years old, and its period of greatness is coincident, and coincident only, with the period of the Church's weakness. On the other hand, for a thousand years the Church in Wales has been part of the province of Canterbury, and for a longer period than that she has held the bulk of her present endowments. The fusion of the Irish Church with that of England was done by Act of Parliament and dissolved by Act of Parliament. The union of the four Welsh dioceses and the English Church is older than Parliament, and is not the result of an Act of Parliament. If they are to be disunited, it is clear that both the parties to the original union should be consulted, and that the matter ought to be referred to the Welsh electorate in such a manner as to constitute the sole issue of that particular election; that would place it beyond dispute, for, apart from a Referendum, it is practically impossible to get a reliable pronouncement by the Welsh people upon this one specific issue. It is evident that without a Government religious census it is impossible to ascertain the real strength of the Church in Wales.

As to the question of an establishment or of State connection, it is obviously a most interesting and a most difficult question. If we go to the principle that lies below it—it is called a principle, but it is not one—we come to something essential; on the one hand spiritual independence, and on the

other the national recognition of religion. Looking at it in the true sense of the meaning of the great principle of the duty of the State, and of every person in the State, to recognise religion, it would be found that that great principle would be accepted by many members of the Free Churches. The Welsh Nonconformist pioneers did not inveigh against State connection. The severance of the State from the Church was not an original principle of Welsh Nonconformity. It is an adoption of later years. The reform movement began in the Church itself, and it was essentially a religious movement. Dissent to them was a sad and a painful necessity. They believed, and avowed that they believed, in the Church as a State Church. The great John Elias himself, one of the most gifted and spiritually-minded of the early Nonconformist leaders, stood on that ground, and it was not until the year 1862 that the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, of which Elias had been a distinguished ornament, joined in the agitation for Disestablishment, and on religious grounds. Indeed, the great leaders of the Protestant Reformation were all of them (except only in Holland) strong believers in the principle of national religion. There was no difference upon this principle between Luther, Calvin, and Knox, on the one hand, and the reformers of the Church of England on the other hand. The same may be said of the Puritan divines. Dr. John Owen, John Howe, Richard Baxter, Matthew Henry, and others, including Oliver Cromwell himself, were strong believers in the principles of national religion. In addition to John Elias, I may name two great men of subsequent generations, viz., John Wesley in England, Dr. Chalmers in Scotland. They believed in the principle of national religion. No more powerful argument in favour of the principle is to be found than the one contained in Dr. Chalmers's lectures upon National Churches. He regarded the association of the State with religion as the higher ideal of national life. There is nothing to show that any event has transpired to render the continuance of such an association impossible, or even to show religiously that it is undesirable. The contrary is the case. A national Church not only best affords, but is the only guarantee for the universality of religious teaching in the land. To say that

there are abuses in the Church, and that the Church has not *always* done her duty, is not an adequate or a just argument for severance. Is Nonconformity doing its full share of duty? Are there no abuses, no illiberalities and obsolete traits in the present Nonconformist system? Such abuses are academic no more, they have confessedly brought Welsh Nonconformity face to face with the greatest crisis in its history as a religious organisation. Coincident with the agitation for disendowing the Church is the movement to endow Nonconformity so as to secure a minimum wage for Nonconformist ministers. The voluntary system has confessedly broken down. In so far as ministerial remuneration is concerned, it tends, under modern conditions, to the avoidance rather than to the performance of duty. It is also a failure in that it does not ensure spiritual freedom and immunity from unjust treatment for those who preach and minister in holy things. Democratic congregations are sensitive to the interference of moral elements with their secular freedom. When Christian ministers begin to apply the larger principles of criticism to the evil courses of society, they rebel and penalise. It is here that the restrictive influences of the voluntary system are seen at their worst. The evil grows with the growth of the democratic spirit in the Churches.

The objection advanced by the present generation of Nonconformists is that the State ought to have nothing to do with religion. The objection is a sound one in so far as it means that the State ought not to exercise any coercive power over the consciences of its subjects; it is unsound when pressed to the conclusion that, in order to secure liberty of conscience, the State should be severed from all connection with the religious life of the nation. Full liberty of conscience is compatible with a religious basis for the State. Such liberty exists to-day. To have no State recognition of religion would mean that there would be, among other evils, no protection against a Roman Catholic king or queen in England. To proclaim that the State, or the Government of the State, does no longer recognise God in the national life could not, and would not, help religion. It would discourage, rather than encourage, the practice of religion among the individuals and societies

that compose the nation. While the Church and State are different societies, they have yet certain elements in common. The remote end of the State is the immediate end of the Church. The Church has, up to a certain point in all Christian countries, developed the State; she has contributed to the strengthening of the authority of the State, when that authority was menaced. She has aided the laws of the State by giving them her sanction, and laws are the strongest ties that bind society together. To have no laws, and no sanction for them, is to have anarchy within the State. In addition to giving dignity to the laws of the State, the Church has imparted a certain dignity to the conception of the State itself, and surrounded the members of the founders of the State with the halo of sacredness. The national Church has invested the Government with the sanction and sanctity of religion.

It is true that such a theory when unduly pressed must lead to an excessive exaltation of the prerogatives of the State. Greek history affords numerous examples of oppression exercised by the State. But the truth is that the more democratic England becomes, the more the State encroaches upon the liberty of the individual. On examining closely the relation between the State and religion, the conclusion is, that the good far outweighs the evil. When the art of government was in its infancy it had to lean on the arm of Religion. Whether we take the ancient or the modern period, we find that this relation between the State and religion upheld authority and acted as a restraint upon authority. Everywhere throughout Europe we find religion the main basis of the temporal power, and even a check upon the unjust application of that power. It is contended that the State is now able to stand on its own feet, is quite capable of looking after its own interests, and that in these enlightened times it is not likely to need any restraints or assistance, either moral or civil. Well, there is no test like the test of experience. What was Bismarck's experience? The growing encroachment of the Socialists compelled him to seek the support of that very Church whose power he had so much despised. Germany has found the moral influence of the Church of immense help in furthering her interests in the East, as well as in waging a

defensive war against the socialistic doctrines that are being disseminated broadcast in the country.

We are being constantly reminded that there is no State Church in America. True, but are there any cities in the world worse governed than the American cities? Is there any country in Europe where the marriage ties are so loosely held, and the Law of Divorce such a scandal to civilisation? Is there any land where laws are invested with so little sanctity, where courts—the last refuge of justice—are so corrupt, and where there is so much buying and selling of judicial decisions? The legislatures of the United States are so governed by politicians that those which are not corrupt are the exception. When the Republican goes down and the Democrat comes up, it is just as bad; and *vice versa*. What of the corruption of the American franchise? The Federal Government, we are told, is built on a vote; yes, and a vote that is purchasable. Executive clemency and presidential pardoning are carried to such an extent that it confounds the minds of the young as to the difference between right and wrong. Everywhere throughout the land the serpent maxim prevails, that success atones for faults and financial crimes. Love of money is stronger than the love of kindred, and avarice in that country grinds men like emery. How piteous and cowardly is the American pulpit! It *did* preach emancipation when emancipation was an accomplished fact—in spite of the pulpit. True, Henry Ward Beecher, a man of immortal memory, stood out in lonely grandeur, for, as Ingersoll so aptly said, "Beecher's heart was with the slave, and to every foe he offered reconciliation's hand." But the American pulpit then, as well as now, was cowardly. It denounces gigantic wickedness when it is down, but slavishly panders to it when it is baying and defiant. Democracy makes the American pulpit all that grossness wants it to be. The Christianity of America is no match for the commercial chicanery and political depravity of the country. There has been a fair field and a fair conflict, and conscience is ruthlessly put down. Ministers, for the want of protection, have to wrap up their convictions in honeyed words; if they do not, indignation burns on every side of them like a flame. There is no monarch, or hierarch, or pope in

America; they are not wanted, for democracy plays the hierarch. It is Philip of Spain and the Inquisition over again, only under a more benevolent name. It avenges its prejudices and passions with equal violence, but at this stage of history it is christened "democracy," and invested with divinity. That settles the matter. Democracy let loose is the counterpart of the old hierarchism. There is no national Church in America, but most assuredly there is need of one.

Moreover, after the acquisition of the Philippines from the Spaniards, the American Government sought to establish itself in the Philippines by getting the Church to use her influence with the people. The American Government went so far as to propose the importation from America to the Philippines of a number of Romish bishops and priests. It actually carried on negotiations with the Pope of Rome for this very purpose. A compromise was ultimately signed, viz., that priests of other nationalities, and especially American priests, should be introduced into the Philippines. This has been done by a Republican Government that has no State or official Church. I see no difference, either in principle or in practice, between such proceedings and the open alliance of Church and State in the Middle Ages. Such is the growth of Socialism in England—and Socialism in its most aggressive form—that future British Governments may find it both convenient and necessary to fall back upon religion for support for their own authority.

In this age there is a practical view as compared with the theoretical view. Many people who are not Disestablishers are non-Establishers. Many people are republicans who would never dream of setting up a republic in this country. Theoretically I could not justify to my mind the selection of one denomination for special recognition by the State; but then, theoretically, I could not justify the selection of one person, and that in a hereditary line, to rule over this country. There is an enormous mass of opinion in the United Kingdom in favour of republics, and yet no one has attempted to table a resolution in the House of Commons to set up a republic. That is the difference of theoretical opinion and practical politics. So long as we can get a king

like the late King Edward or the present King George it would be ludicrous to propose anything else.

"But," says the political Nonconformist, "it is because the National Church in Wales, when historically considered, has abused her privileges and neglected her opportunities, that we want disestablishment; the agitation is a reaction from patiently borne inequalities of the past." But there can be no doubt that posterity will regard the political Nonconformity of this hour in the same unfavourable light as present-day Nonconformity regards the Church of the past. True, there have been periods when Wales has suffered, and suffered grievously, from the limitations of the Welsh national Church. The law of retribution works in the religious, as well as in the social and personal realm. The present difficulty of Welsh Anglicanism is in part the Nemesis of the past. Her own nationalism of religion was at times so one-sided and so arrogant, that her own eyes could not be opened to another nationalism, the seeds of which she herself had sown. The first band of Nonconformist leaders were Church clergymen. The Church needed the widening which the new nationalism, then in embryo, could give. Had she been more tolerant and more comprehensive, had she shown a little more elasticity in her framework, and allowed a little more freedom of action to the men she had reared, she might have healed the fissures in the Body of Christ. But she cancelled the licence of Rowland of Llangeitho, treated him, and especially Harris, not only with injustice but with cruelty, and thereby caused the torrent of the new zeal to overflow her banks, and to separate itself into a number of different and divergent streams. To dismember the Church as an act of avenging justice, for certain evils that once existed but have long since passed away, is no corresponding remedy, but a manifest violation of religious liberty.

As to the peculiar attitude of those of the clergy who, for reasons of expediency, advocate with Nonconformists the separation of the Church in Wales, it must be said that their attitude is inconsistent, and is also disloyal to their ordination vows. To be conscientious, they should first separate themselves from an organisation believed by them to be based on an unjust principle. There are a few clergy of this type in

Wales. Others, together with many of the laity, are looking to disestablishment as the only road to independence in matters of doctrine, discipline, ritual, organisation, and other questions that vitally affect the Church, and that concern the purity of home life. They resent, and justly resent, the intrusion of the State in defiance of the laws of the Church. The authority centres in the Church, and the attitude of true Churchmen towards the Erastianism of politicians is, as it should be, one of uncompromising hostility. But if the link between State and Church were to be severed, it is not at all clear how far such a severance would act in giving independence. So long as the Church holds property, and the churches are property in themselves, a reference to the terms of the title-deeds is certain to be called for, and the interpretation of those terms rests with a Court of law. The power of the State in such matters is incontrovertible. There is no possibility or probability that such a Court shall be composed in the spirit of the original Reformation compromise, if the link existing between Church and State is severed. A purely secular Court will be the only Court existing to decide whether the users of property are fulfilling the terms of the trust under which they hold it. Law is partly in abeyance, both with respect to the maximum and the minimum requirements, not widely, it is perfectly true, though more widely perhaps with respect to minimum than maximum, but sufficiently to make it a serious matter.

With regard to the other aspect of the case—Disendowment—it may be justly observed that there is no necessary logical connection between the two. In 1895, when an amendment was proposed to divide the first Bill into two parts and to deal with disestablishment and disendowment separately, each on its own merits, Mr. Asquith would not hear of such a thing. Two Welsh members of Parliament spoke in that debate. The first of them said he did not believe there were a dozen Nonconformists in favour of disestablishment without disendowment, and the second said, "No Welsh member would entertain for a moment the idea of getting disestablishment without disendowment." Ethically considered, the disendowment part of the Bill is a violation of the principle of equity.

I am not sure that it may be called honest statesmanship, for the Welsh Church Commission, in its terms of reference, was asked by the Government "to inquire into the origin, nature, amount, and application of the temporalities, endowments, and properties of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire," and yet the Prime Minister asked Parliament to alienate this property without having before it the information required to form a proper judgment upon the disendowment clauses of his Bill, either in detail or as a whole. The present Bill is in substance the Bill of 1895 reintroduced, as it was left in Committee when the Government of that day went out of office. The two chief amendments made in Committee in 1895 were the retention of the cathedrals by the Church, and the putting back of the date of the security of private benefactions from 1703, the date of the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty, to 1662, the date of the Act of Uniformity. Both these amendments of the Bill of 1895 are embodied in the present Bill. When Mr. Asquith learnt in Committee, in 1895, what money Churchmen had voluntarily spent upon the restoration of Welsh cathedrals, he decided not to take them away from the Church. I have already observed that Mr. Gladstone was against the confiscation of the cathedrals. He was abroad when Mr. Asquith had his first Bill in hand, and telegraphed cancelling his pair in favour of the Bill, when he found that Mr. Asquith had included a provision for confiscating the cathedrals. It is also worthy of note that but very few private benefactions were given to the Church between 1662 and 1703. In the case of the whole diocese of St. David's they would probably not amount altogether to more than about £20 per annum, and there is no reason for thinking that they would be more numerous in the other dioceses. The only other difference of substance between the two Bills is, that in the present Bill a Council of Wales is established. This Council, probably, is to be the forerunner of Welsh Home Rule in some form, and which, it is not unreasonable to presume, will have within its jurisdiction the disposition of private property in land in Wales.

A very prominent and highly respected member of the Welsh Parliamentary Party wrote recently: "I have the best

authority for warning him (meaning the indomitable Bishop of St. David's) against harbouring any delusive hopes of greater mercy than is shown by the proposals of 1909, which, the more they are studied, the more they will recommend themselves to any one who assents to the principle of the measure." The word "mercy" is an interesting word in this connection; it indicates the view which is held by Liberationists as to Church property. There are High Churchmen in Wales who say, "Let Church property go, for the Church has forfeited her rights by wasting her time and means teaching Protestantism, instead of teaching the Catholic faith." The extreme Nonconformist, on the other hand, says, "We are only robbing the robbers." In order to appreciate the character and degree of the alleged "mercy" that is shown to the Church, it is necessary to analyse briefly and generally the effects of the disendowment proposals.

The Church in Wales was in deep poverty two centuries ago. It is due to Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that it is a little better now. For many years these two Central Church bodies have made grants to meet benefactions from Welsh parishes. Mr. Asquith does not take away these private benefactions, but he does take away these grants, though the benefactions were given on the express condition of obtaining grants to meet them. The Bill takes away all the benefits which the Church in Wales has received from Queen Anne's Bounty and from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and it prohibits these two Central Church administrative bodies from giving a penny in grants to the Church in Wales in the future. If we divide the present income of the Church in Wales from endowments into fifteen parts, what this Bill does is to take away fourteen parts, and leave the Church only one part out of the fifteen. This is the "mercy" for which the promoters of the Bill expect Churchmen to thank them!

Hitherto, no distinction of any kind between English and Welsh dioceses has been made by Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the administration of their Central Church funds. The Welsh and English parishes have always been considered without any distinction, being treated as belonging to the same Church. No account is taken of the

proportion of the revenues of these two central bodies, which is derived respectively from England and Wales. These grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have been well and wisely used for the endowment of benefices and the stipends of unbeneficed clergy. A considerable portion of the augmentation of the endowments of the Church in Wales, made by Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is derived from the English and not from the Welsh resources of these two Central Church bodies, and would have all gone to benefices in England had the Church in Wales been a separate Church. Under Mr. Asquith's Bill these English endowments are to be appropriated for Welsh secular objects. His justification is that the property is now geographically situated in Wales. But the Bill likewise confiscates land belonging to a Welsh benefice that happens to be situated in England. The Bill takes away not only from the Church but also from Wales more than £50,000 a year. It takes away for secular purposes endowments that were originally given for religious purposes, and which have been so used for several centuries.

What about the prescriptive rights of the Church to its property? The Bill provides that endowments given to the Church in Wales before the Nonconformist bodies separated from it be appropriated for public and charitable purposes, therefore the line is drawn at 1662. Several organised secessions have taken place from the Wesleyan Methodist denomination since it commenced to accumulate its present endowments. What would Wesleyans think if it were attempted to disendow that denomination on the same principle? In the year 1844 an Act of Parliament was passed, giving the security of a Parliamentary title to Nonconformist property, which is, like Church property, of the nature of trust property. The Act was occasioned by the case of certain Unitarian chapels and endowments which had been originally given to orthodox Presbyterians, and which were, as the law then stood, in jeopardy, because of the profound change in the doctrines taught since the property was originally given. What the Act of Parliament of 1844 did was to fix twenty-five years' continuous possession as a period sufficient

to give full security to Nonconformist property. The same reasonable principle was applied in the Parliamentary title to property given a few years ago to the United Free Church of Scotland.

Church property, in its nature, is the same as Nonconformist property ; it is trust property. The date of its origin does not in any way affect its nature. Trust property has rights as well as duties, so that both on the ground of date, or length of possession, and of the nature of the property, the Church is fully entitled to retain possession of its property. Statutes of limitations have been passed giving prescriptive rights both to private and to trust property, provided such property has been enjoyed for a certain number of years. It is a sound principle, and a principle essential in the interests of social stability and security of interests. The only difference is that the prescriptive right of the Church to her property is much longer than the *minimum* limit of twenty-five years imposed by the Act of 1844.

As to the question of tithes, I need only refer to the fact that in the year 1895 Sir John Gorst, in the Committee of the House of Commons on Mr. Asquith's Bill of that year, moved an amendment, the effect of which would have been to leave the Church in possession of all endowments which a Court of law would declare to be private benefactions. Mr. Asquith, in declining this amendment, said that the effect of it would be " to give the disestablished Church the whole of the tithe," since it would have been open to a Court of law to take the view that tithes were, on account of their voluntary origin, private benefactions.

If we look a little more closely at this question of Disendowment we shall be better able to realise its effects. There are at present 1597 clergy working in Wales. Hundreds of them are labouring upon incomes often smaller than the salaries of the upper menials in a great house. The total annual endowments which now provide incomes for the 1597 clergy are actually less than the individual incomes of at least two members of the Welsh Disestablishment Party in the House of Commons.

In the Archdeaconry of Monmouth, from a total endow-

ment of £36,029, there would be taken away £34,329, leaving only £1700, or about 1s. in the pound. From 87 parishes out of the 137 in the archdeaconry every farthing would be taken, and ten parishes would retain an income under £10 a year, and of these two would receive £1 a year.

Taking the county of Cardigan, an extremely poor county, the total net income of parochial incumbents in that archdeaconry in 1906 was £15,969. At the end of last year the total net parochial income was £17,284. It is said that the greatest part of that sum of £17,000 is national property. But an increase of £900 gross represents every penny that the clergy in that archdeaconry have ever received from the State. The Bill of 1909 proposed to take away from the Church in that archdeaconry all except the income from what were called private benefactions since 1662, amounting to £1618 out of the present endowment of £17,284. The sum of £1600 would have to be divided among 87 incumbents. It would mean that each incumbent would get £18, 10s. per annum on the average, or, taking matters as they are now, 39 out of 87 incumbents would be left without a single penny of endowment.

In the rural deanery of Carmarthen the endowments total £3833—an average of £221 for each parish. By this disendowment scheme the average that would be taken away out of the £221 would be 17s. 4d. in the pound. The whole of the tithes of the Church between all the vicars and rectors of the deanery only amount to £438 per annum. This sum will be lost. The Vicar of St. Peter's, Carmarthen, receives only £7 a year from tithe, which the Peniarth manuscripts show was given in 1238, not for the nation or any secular purpose. If a Nonconformist body held the £7 tithe, and they went to law over it, the judge would say that so long as that body had held it for twenty-five years, given them under the Chapels Dissenting Act as a right of tenure, it could hold it for ever. In the deanery there are tithes in the hands of lay proprietors. The whole amount to £2444 gross. These lay proprietors cannot, upon any historical basis, show any tenure beyond 1536. The Bill does not touch such tithes; the reason given

is that they are considered—most of them—as tithes from the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII.; and, as they have been sold and resold, they have to be treated as private property.

As to the effect of the Bill upon the unbeneficed clergy it will suffice to point out that 561 of them, who are labouring in Wales at the present moment, will be turned adrift, penniless and without compensation. In the diocese of Llandaff alone, where there is such a dearth of curates, and the need of them so urgent, and becoming more urgent with the immense growth of population, not less than £6000 a year will be taken away from them without any compensation.

"How well these clergy look!" said one disestablisher to another, as he saw a Cardigan cleric leave a train. "But," he continued, "their days are numbered, and they will very soon have to work for their living like the rest of us." A Nonconformist minister who presided at a disestablishment meeting said that "it was for the strong to take and for the weak to squeak." To recapitulate such unworthy sentiments in a book of this character may appear somewhat out of place; but my justification is that it will give English Churchmen, and honourable men in England who are not Churchmen, some idea of the low view a great many ignorant and uncultured Nonconformist Radicals, who have votes, take of such a solemn question. They have persuaded themselves to believe that the clergy are in the direct employ of the State, that the Church is in possession of property and of funds, as a national Church, to which the State has a moral right; that Church endowments are vested in the State, and of which the State is owner and can dispose of at will. The tithe they speak of as a Church tax, and when enforced is enforced by the Church. According to the provisions of the Bills of 1895 and 1909 these tithes will continue to be paid after the Church is disendowed, but paid instead to the county council. It is clear that the tithe rent charge is not officially considered a Church tax, but an ordinary business transaction. It is a form of rent, therefore it is not proposed to abolish it.

This controversy over endowments has also its moral for Churchmen. It is to their credit that very large sums have

been raised for restorations, decorations, and accessaries. Is it not time that attention was directed to the provision of maintenance of the living agents, and lasting memorials took that shape rather than that of marbles and mosaics, organs and coloured glass? To be rational or businesslike is not the converse of spirituality, nor is it a synonym for worldliness. In small country parishes the clergy have to deal with a large number of business matters; their bishops expect them, often unreasonably so, to augment the value of their livings, and many of them are constrained to do it out of incomes that many skilled artisans would scorn to accept. When will some of our bishops realise, and the great mass of Church laity realise, what it means to bear the over-burdening weight of a perpetual struggle with the straitened circumstances of so many of the clergy, and how this seriously interferes with the due supply of men of the type and calibre that the Church needs to serve in her sacred ministry, and how it eats the heart out of many a devoted priest who offered himself in his early and enthusiastic years for his office, hardly realising what it involved financially?

With regard to this matter justice demands that a generous reference should be made to the excellent work that has been accomplished during the last twenty-five years by the Diocesan Fund in the Diocese of St. David's. This fund was commenced in 1885, and has two branches for increasing small livings; one by capital grants to be invested for their permanent augmentation, the second by income grants annually renewable. In capital grants every hundred pounds granted has to be met by another hundred pounds from local sources. A grant of two hundred pounds may be expected from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but the amount of grant to be expected from Queen Anne's Bounty is uncertain. The total capital amount thus raised is invested, bearing interest at the rate of 3 per cent., so as to produce a permanent annual addition to the endowment of the benefice, or it may go towards the provision of a parsonage. From the commencement of the fund in 1885 to the close of the year 1910, and in connection with the fund, a sum of over £220,710 has been added to the capital value of 157

benefices in this diocese, producing a permanent addition to their income of over £6621 per annum, being an average income to each of over £42 a year. Of the above sum of over £220,710, the Diocesan Fund contributes £44,682; contributions from local sources amounted to over £73,201; and these two sums were met by £102,827 from Queen Anne's Bounty Fund and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The branch dealing with income grants is affiliated to the Queen Victoria Fund, the condition being that one-fifth of the net available income of this branch be paid annually to the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund. This enables the diocese to receive a much larger block grant in return, which forms part of the amount available for distribution by the Board of the Diocesan Fund in income grants only. From 1898, the first year in which income grants were made, up to and including 1910, no less a sum than £29,146, 5s. has been distributed amongst about a hundred incumbents of poor benefices in this diocese. Of the above sum of £29,146, 5s., block grants amounting to £14,850 have been made by the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund in return for contributions from this fund amounting to £3630. The total amount contributed by the Diocesan Fund, inclusive of the above sum of £3630 sent to the Queen Victoria Fund, amounted to £17,926, 5s.

The Church to-day ministers to a much larger number than the number for which the ancient endowments were provided; and if the history of the several benefices were investigated separately, it would be seen that the endowments of each parish were given to that parish, not to the nation nor by the nation. They were given on the ground of Church discipline, doctrine, and authority. There is no uniformity in the amount of the endowments. Whatever abuses of particular endowments there may have been in the past have ceased, and the Church now makes just use of the various endowments. The Bill, which is erroneously described as "a measure to restore national endowments to national purposes," takes away not only ancient but modern endowments in new parishes where those endowments have come from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

CHAPTER VI

LINGUISTIC PROBLEM

IT is calculated that there are no less than nine hundred known languages. Decay and death take place among languages as among the nations that speak them. The language of Demosthenes has long ceased as a living language. Latin, likewise, is no longer spoken, though it lasted for many centuries among scholars; it was long-lived in comparison with Greek. The life of a language does not depend upon the will of individuals, or upon the mutual agreement of any large number of people. Language thrives, changes, and perishes in spite of affection for it. Just as it cannot be moulded at will, so its continued existence or extinction depends upon circumstances that are beyond the control of the nation, or of certain organisations in the nation. Language, like plants, requires soil, heat, and light, and above all, people who will use it. A language cannot survive in and by itself; there must be the material for the sustenance. Where could be found more productive soil than the home, the pulpit, and the Sunday School? These, together with the Welsh Bible, have given a new and a longer lease to the native language of Wales, but the trend of events is against it. Welsh has been long dead in Radnorshire, and is fast drawing its last breath in Breconshire; it is dying daily in all parts of Wales except Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, and Anglesey. Wales bears unmistakable traces of the Englishman's influence, and in proportion as higher education spreads, and the Welsh universities do the work intended for them, the Welsh language will be found more and more of no use to twentieth-century Welshmen. It is true that there are more Welshmen speaking Welsh to-day than in any preceding period—there are more of them. It is

equally true that more Welshmen speak English to-day, which is a far more important consideration. The old prejudice against English has passed away, and the commercial and intellectual necessity of a deeper acquaintance with it has dawned upon the modern Welsh mind.

The relative importance of Welsh is now completely settled, the period of rivalry is over. Welsh no longer maintains a well-defined independency, it is now on the defensive, it is even struggling for an existence. Among the contributory causes may be mentioned (*a*) the Regal Act of Union with England, which brought the English language and English influences right into the heart of the country; (*b*) the spread of education; (*c*) English journalism and English literature; (*d*) the growth of the English population; (*e*) the new position which Wales occupies in the social and political life of the kingdom. The final and permanent supremacy of the English is, to all intents and purposes, fully established. Welsh is being driven from one stronghold after another. English is the habitual speech of Welshmen; it is moulding, modifying, and recasting the tastes, habits, and ideals of the people, and is fast extending their utterance to its model. Welshmen who speak English still preserve, in grammar, diction, and idiom, and above all, in accent, their native Welshicism. The Welsh accent dies hard, except in the case of those who are early trained in English schools and who are brought up in English society. The men of the North, and those from the county of Cardigan, retain the accent longer than the men of the South and those who hail from the county of Carmarthen, and they acquire a practical knowledge of English with greater difficulty.

Unusual and, it may be said, not unworthy efforts have been made of late years to prolong the existence of Welsh as a spoken language, and to introduce it as a subject of study into Welsh day schools and Welsh universities, and not without results. A Welsh Department at the Board of Education has now been established. Part of the portion of the code which refers to the teaching of the language is printed in Welsh. According to the Report of the Board of Education (Welsh Department) for the year 1909, we find that by

November 1908 the number of schools taking Welsh had risen to 78, and the number of pupils to 4844. "It is probable," states the Report, "that in the immediate future Welsh will have a place in the curriculum of every secondary school in Wales." With regard to the progress of the Welsh language at the Welsh University, some idea may be gained if we quote the number of students who have passed degree examinations in Welsh. In the year 1896 the total number that passed such degree examinations was 11; in 1897, 27; in 1898, 57; in 1903, 82; in 1906, 109; in 1909, 159, including three who took the M.A. degree by means of theses; and in 1910, 168, of whom five took the M.A. degree by means of theses on subjects connected with the Welsh language, literature, and history.

This Welsh sentiment of language is not to be despised; it is an element of civilisation. Respect for one's language is a virtue; it is respect for one's self, morals, and instincts. National culture has its roots in the speech that is peculiar to a nation. To study it is to know its laws, ideas, civilisation, and characteristics. To treat classical Welsh as if it were the jargon of savage tribes is neither a mark of intelligence nor a sign of culture. Welsh is a language that has produced a rich but unknown literature; it has still a living literature of its own, as well as an almost forgotten ancestral literature. The language is essentially native, not like Italian, Spanish, and French, generated from the corruption of Latin; the few words that have been borrowed have not been borrowed out of need. It carries us back to remote ages; to the common language of the British race in the days of Agricola, and to still earlier times when neither Celt nor Teuton, Greek nor Roman, had commenced their wanderings Westward from the cradle of the Aryan race in the East. Sir John Rhys of Oxford, in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, parcels out the entire past of the language in the following manner:—

1. Prehistoric Welsh, ranging from the time when the ancestors of the Welsh and the Irish could no longer be said to form one nation, to the subjugation of the Britons by Julius Agricola, or, let us say, to the end of the first century.

2. Early Welsh of the time of the Roman occupation, from then to the departure of the Romans in the beginning of the fifth century.
3. Early Welsh of what is called the Brit-Welsh period, from that date till about the end of the seventh century, or the beginning of the eighth.
4. Old Welsh, from that time to the coming of the Normans into Wales in the latter part of the eleventh century.
5. Mediæval Welsh, from that time to the Reformation.
6. Modern Welsh, from that epoch to the present day.

As to the question of the identity of the language during the periods enumerated, it is clear that in a work of this kind the references to it must be limited. As far back as the twelfth century there is no occasion to prove its identity, for it is established by abundance of literature, which, for all philological purposes, is considered both ample and complete. Beyond that period, from the coming of the Normans into Wales, in the latter part of the eleventh century, back to the old Welsh period, the means of identification consist of inscriptions and glosses, with some scraps of Latin manuscripts. Such materials as are available throw no light on the syntax of the language, but they serve to indicate the changes through which it passed between the eleventh and the ninth centuries. Before the ninth century, back to the Early Welsh period, or what is called the Brit-Welsh period, its identity is traceable in a number of epitaphs and contemporary monuments written mostly in Latin, and British names with Latin terminations. These old Celtic monuments, still existing in Wales, were intended to commemorate those who spoke the language, or a language, which has grown to be that which is spoken in Wales at the present time. In the period preceding the Brit-Welsh to the time of the Roman occupation, which ended in the beginning of the fifth century, the materials for identification are more meagre and limited. According to Sir John Rhys they consist of (1) a few proper names which have been identified in Ptolemy's geography, the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, Tacitus's *Agricola*, and other writings of that time; and (2) inscriptions scattered up and down a country occupied by

Welsh ancestors. While all these Celtic names cannot be claimed to be Cymric, yet many of them are. Traces in Welsh words of Welsh origin are detected by comparison with other languages, especially the Irish, both of which are near of kin, being branches of one common stock. The controversy as to the origin of Cymric inscriptions is wholly due to the similarity between Early Welsh and Early Irish. The difference between the two has not always been so great as it is now; the farther back we go, the more they resemble one another. The question as to which Celtic names have survived in Ireland and in Wales is a mere matter of accident; the wonder is that they are so numerous. It has not yet been proved that any of the inscriptions found in Wales are of Irish origin, or that they are not Welsh. The priority of claim still stands on the Cymric side. As to what happened to the language in the prehistoric period, the Goidelic-Cymric period of the Celts in Britain, is chiefly a matter of inference. Both Irish and Welsh bear idiomatic traces of the influence of pre-Aryan languages of Iberian origin. There are some remarkable points of similarity between the Celtic and Finnic groups of languages, the latter of which are still spoken in Europe. Thus it is seen that though there do not appear to be any manuscripts in Welsh previous to the Norman Conquest, traces of the language in the earlier periods are distinct and authentic. Amid all the linguistic complications, the Brythonic dialect was never obscured, being always dominant in the background. It never became extinct even during the long period of the Roman occupation.

Though the language still retains its structural characteristics, it has been modified in the course of time; contact with later people introduced certain alien peculiarities. All languages are liable to historical modifications, and local alterations of one and the same original word. The language of Dante was not the language of Virgil, and the language of Goethe was not the language of Charlemagne. Every written language bears traces of such historical changes. The language of the Authorised Version of the Bible is not the language spoken in Britain in this generation. The same may be said of Welsh; some words have fallen into disuse, others

bear a different significance, and not a few Welsh words are, at the present time, on the border line between the vulgar and literary forms. Much of the Welsh that is spoken to-day in industrial Wales is a mere *patois*—a kind of homely peculiarity in expression. Not only is there a serious tendency in the direction of inaccuracy, but towards looseness in the application of terms, and the intermingling of English with Welsh words in order to emphasise and explain the latter. This is a sign, and a cause, of the present deterioration. The tendency is on the increase, not only in Welsh society in general, but in Welsh journalism and in the Welsh pulpit. No improvement may be expected from the Welsh universities or Welsh professors, for the most culpable are the younger occupants of the Welsh pulpit who have received their classical education at the Welsh universities. The more perfect idiomatic Welsh is to be found among the older preachers who have never received a university course. The Bible has been their university. There is a distinctively Welsh translation of the Scriptures, but the Welsh spoken, generally, is not the Welsh of the Bible—it is not even a language in the strict and highest sense of the term. Whatever Welsh is spoken in business, society, or even the home, is a mere dialect, and there are many varieties in the North, South, and West of Wales, and in the industrial districts. Welsh religious literature, whether controversial, theological, or political, is becoming more and more anglicised Welsh ; even pulpit Welsh is largely couched in anglicised terms. The difference between the Welsh that is preached and spoken to-day and the Welsh of a generation ago is very marked ; it is an admixture of English and Welsh, and of words and phrases that have been coined and adopted at will by the natives. The tendency among preachers, and among Welshmen generally, is to adopt the current manners of speech ; and the tendency is on the increase.

The figures I have just given are highly interesting from an academic view-point, but as a test of the place of the language in the daily and practical life of the nation, they are valueless. In the great industrial centres it is rapidly on the decline, being regarded more and more as a subsidiary language. Even as an instrument of oral intercourse among the

natives it is fast falling into disuse. As a medium of correspondence between friends and relations, to say nothing of business activities, it is practically dead. Wales at present is very largely composed of a population speaking English, and speaking English exclusively. The census returns for 1891 furnished for the first time a record of the number of persons speaking Welsh only, English only, or both English and Welsh, in the Principality. Though the accuracy of the returns was afterwards impugned, the figures have long since been accepted as being substantially correct. According to this census, the population of Wales and Monmouthshire in regard to language was summarised as follows:—

Speaking only English	759,416
Speaking only Welsh	508,036
Speaking English and Welsh . . .	402,253
Speaking foreign languages . . .	3,076
No information (over two years) . .	12,833
Infants under two years	90,791
Total.	1,776,405

During the period from 1801 to 1901, while the Welsh-speaking population only doubled, the English population increased nearly sevenfold. The purely English population has enormously increased since, and the increase has been at the expense of the purely Welsh population.

By the census of 1901 it appears that, dividing the population over three years of age into linguistic groups, according as the people of Wales speak English only, Welsh only, or both English and Welsh, but leaving out those who speak other languages only and those who make no statement, which number is very insignificant, the totals of the groups are as follows:—

Speaking English only . .	928,222, or 49·9 per cent.
Speaking Welsh only . .	280,905, or 15·1 per cent.
Bilingual . . .	648,919, or 34·8 per cent.

So that the total of those who speak English only is equal to the total of those who speak Welsh (inclusive of the people who speak both English and Welsh). The linguistic figures

for 1911 will not be available for some considerable time, but it is safe to prophesy that when they are made known, they will show a still greater proportion of those who speak English only over those who speak Welsh only, and of those who speak both Welsh and English.

The following statistics will give a fair impression of the area over which the Welsh language and English language are in common use:—

County.	Total Population over Three Years.	English only.	Welsh only.	English and Welsh.
Anglesey . . .	47,504	3,793	22,791	20,763
Brecknock . .	50,409	27,245	4,674	18,445
Cardigan . . .	57,664	3,880	29,081	24,557
Carmarthen . .	126,166	12,018	44,901	69,046
Carnarvon . .	117,647	12,165	55,955	49,346
Flint	75,931	38,544	5,722	31,568
Denbigh . . .	122,195	46,435	22,366	53,238
Glamorgan . .	791,847	442,107	52,493	292,399
Merioneth . .	45,631	2,825	23,081	19,674
Monmouth . .	274,415	238,131	2,013	33,677
Montgomery . .	51,310	26,913	7,980	16,361
Pembroke. . .	82,223	53,796	9,797	18,536
Radnor . . .	21,754	20,370	51	1,309
Total . .	1,864,696	928,222	280,905	648,919

There are three important factors that must be considered in this connexion—(*a*) the constant and increasing immigration of English people into Wales; (*b*) the constant and increasing emigration of Welsh-speaking persons from Wales; (*c*) the increasing daily disuse of Welsh among the Welsh-speaking population of Wales. An effort has been made to meet the difficulty by the compulsory teaching of Welsh. Such a remedy, if it is a remedy, cannot be justified, either on the ground of justice or of education. It overlooks the fact that Wales is very largely composed of a population speaking and desiring English exclusively. It would be both unjust and inexpedient to insist on English children learning Welsh in order that they might learn English through Welsh. The late Lord Aberdare

declared that, after a very careful study of the question, he had come to the conclusion that the teaching of Welsh should not be compulsory. There was nothing, he thought, to prevent the trial of the experiment subject to two conditions, one being that the large majority of the children at those schools should be Welsh-speaking children, and that the masters and mistresses should not only be Welsh-speaking, but should be capable of teaching Welsh grammatically. In many parts of Wales, chiefly in the rural districts, the first of these conditions could be easily fulfilled, but the latter difficulty was a grave one, though it might be too much to say that it is insurmountable. The question of teaching Welsh when such conditions are obtainable, or even to English children whose parents desire it, is a quite different matter. There are reasons, other than sentimental reasons, for the teaching of Welsh in elementary schools, and, under certain conditions, in our intermediate schools and university colleges. One is the degree of ignorance which prevails with regard to it, both among the commonalty, and even middle-class Welshmen who claim to be technically educated. The sentiment of language is very marked among the Welsh, but generally speaking the language is only known wholesale. Its groundwork—laws, facts, idiom, history, psychology, and its relation to Welsh religion—are not fathomed; it is not made to yield all that it has to yield by way of intelligence and true culture. In the opinion of some educational authorities Welsh does, to some extent, form a vehicle of instruction in the teaching of other subjects, and especially as a medium of instruction in Scripture. The teaching of the language to both infants and adults, it is claimed, not only gives them a knowledge of the language which they do not get at home, but also a fondness for their own country—it has an intellectual value. It has been claimed that the English of the average boy and girl is both poor and slovenly, and that a careful attention to the correct pronunciation of Welsh words results in a diminution of the slovenliness that was exhibited in the speaking of English. The reading of Welsh helps English reading when the latter is taught on the phonetic system, and in the higher classes the children are known to gain from the mental

gymnastic by comparison and translation. Exactness in comprehension corresponds with exactness in translation. The teaching of the language, when correlated with that of Welsh geography and history, to say nothing of Welsh literature, helps the pupils to appreciate, to some degree at any rate, the great social, physical, and other influences which have helped to produce a distinct Welsh nation, with its peculiar characteristics and literature. Other authorities, whose opinion is entitled to equal respect—and it is educated Welsh opinion—believe that the teaching of Welsh in elementary schools is detrimental to the English of the children. It is clear that to force Welsh is to kill it. The language has survived throughout the generations by the exercise of the people's free will. Since the arrangement for the teaching of Welsh has been made optional, it has brought about an increase of enthusiasm on the part of both the teachers and the pupils, and resulted in a marked improvement in the work done. There is no fascination in a compulsory subject, and to look for good Welsh linguistic results through the compulsory teaching of Welsh, among a mixed population, would be as futile as to look for true equality by means of compulsory equality. The policy is essentially undemocratic. A slight reaction set in a few years ago, and much was said and written about the irresistible advance of Welsh, and its assured triumph; but the influence was only apparent, and the reaction has spent its force. The Welsh language has ceased to be representative of the Welsh nation.

The Welsh sentiment of language has done this: it has inverted the true relative importance of the usefulness and uselessness of the language, with the result that Welsh talent has suffered in influence, reputation, and material advancement. A distinctive language has been considered as essential to nationality. It was once thought that Welsh independence was indispensable for the preservation of Welsh nationality. Wales was conquered, and she lost her independence, yet her nationality survived. The belief prevailed among the Welsh princes, as late as the middle of the twelfth century, that it was necessary to maintain the old Celtic Church in order to maintain Welsh nationality. It was a

matter of discussion between them and the Latin monks. The Celtic Church disappeared when the Welsh chiefs surrendered the rights of the Church of Wales and went over to the Latin side. True, they lost the rights of the people, and their surrender cost them dearly, and it profoundly affected Welsh history. But Welsh nationality is a greater living force to-day than ever, and more constructive in its character. The use of the English language for literary purposes has been discouraged on the same ground; to utilise any language, except the vernacular, as a medium of thought was to help to put the fire of obliteration on racial characteristics; thus it was that Welsh life was not compounded with the life and the added influence of other nationalities, either through commerce or through literature.

Language is not the same force in the making and the preservation of nationality as it used to be; neither is religion. History is the main force in nationality. The consciousness of having lived together, toiled, aspired, and suffered together, is a more potent force than merely to have spoken the same language, in nourishing the sentiment of nationality. The Swiss Cantons differ in religion, origin, and language. Half of the population is Protestant—the larger half; the other half is Catholic. In one part German is spoken, in another part French and Italian. In some remote parts are heard the accents of the Roumanisch. In origin the people belong to Germany and France, and they have a different literature, yet in no country under the sun is the sentiment of nationality purer and stronger than in Switzerland; and nowhere can be witnessed greater pride in common history, tradition, institutions, and in the memory of national heroes, than in that small mountainous country.

Furthermore, Welshmen have had no care for the diffusion of Welsh thought in other tongues, on the ground that it would tend to diminish purely Welsh ardour. They have not encouraged the expatriation of native ideas, or the importation of foreign ones. Until the advent of the new learning, Welsh patriotism cultivated a self-immuring disposition; consequently there was no positive assertion of Welsh thought outside Wales, and no distribution of the inherent

qualities of the people among other nationalities, and very little went from Wales, by way of mental commodity, into the common stock. This is part of the explanation why the Welsh have not been known in the same broad, typical, and familiar way in which other nationalities are known. Seldom does Wales come into view in the world of Art, Philosophy, Biography, Science, Exploration, Discovery, or in creative Music. England, Scotland, Ireland, and other nationalities are receiving constant attention, but in vain we search the writings of standard English authors, both in prose and poetry, for a recognition of Wales, and of Welsh racial characteristics. What is true of them is true of English-born authors who are the offspring of the Welsh race. Welsh folk-lore, romances, antiquities, proverbs, biographies, love-stories, tales, wit and wisdom, poems and history, are generally ignored. Scott idealised Scottish life in the English language. If he had confined himself to Gaelic his fame would not have reached as far as it has done. The same thing would be true of Loti if he had used the Brythonic language. But the writers of Brittany and of Scotland have sent their thoughts out into the world clothed in the language of the largest of all reading constituencies. Wales preserved her language and lost her reputation—the reputation she might have made earlier for herself, if she had not adopted the vernacular as the exclusive vehicle of her thought-energy.

Welsh literature, we are told, does not bear translation. True, there are in the Welsh as in the German and the Russian, and in other tongues, words that do not take English happily. To translate Welsh by the equivalent colloquial English is to lose the humour and the original implication. It conveys a false impression as to the quality and even the morality of the thought that is expressed. Much of the wit and wisdom current in Welsh social life could not bear literal translation; to a cultivated Englishman it might appear vulgar. But with full allowance for the difficulties of racial idioms, and the nature of the thing that has to be described, it must be conceded that Wales has not yet developed that artistic temperament so essential to a successful translator. Homer's *Iliad* has stood the test of translation, so has Dante's

dream, Goethe's *Faust*, and Victor Hugo; Shakepeare's plays are translated into every language, and attract both the educated and the uneducated; Beethoven's symphonies are played in France and in Germany, as well as in England. No doubt Wales will send forth her Dante, her Goethe, her Shakespeare, and her translators when she has produced and reared them. "But why," asks the ardent Welsh Nationalist, "impose on Wales the double task of producing and translating?" Homer was translated into English, not by a Greek, but by an Englishman. Shakespeare was translated into French, not by an Englishman, but by a Frenchman. Why, therefore, insist upon Welshmen translating Welsh literature into English, French, or German? The obvious answer is that English, French, and German are international languages, whereas Welsh is not, and never will be. A knowledge of these languages is essential in commerce, high finance, and diplomacy. Knowledge of Welsh is not. The Welshman, like the Dutchman, is compelled to learn foreign languages, for the reason that he knows that foreigners will not take the trouble to acquaint themselves with his language, except in a very cursory manner for the sake of curiosity and conviviality. No educated man, no civilised nation, can ignore the fruits of the Greek genius; no active centre of learning could eliminate Greek thought. Men go to Greece for logic, tragedy, philosophy, and metaphysics. To study and to translate Homer, Shakespeare, Dante, and Goethe is a necessity of civilisation. A knowledge of them, and of the thought embodied in the languages in which they spoke, is indispensable to one's education and the world's progress. Wales does not stand in the same category.

Wales is now in the bilingual state; it is both an advantage and a difficulty. It is clear that a Welshman possessing a knowledge of both Welsh and English has an advantage over a man possessing a knowledge of English only. He has access to two literatures. But to make a religious provision for the present dual population is a matter of serious concern to the various religious bodies in Wales. The difficulty can only be met by wise adjustments by the several localities where the difficulty is most acute. The

present bilingual conditions, however, mark the attainment of a later and riper development; it has already opened up new ranges of power, and given the people a scope and a force unknown in their monoglot days. The monoglot area is fast diminishing. Some of the brightest Welshmen of to-day have felt the disadvantage of having been brought up monoglots. Welsh is not a factor in the world of education. No Welshman has ever been able to gain any international distinction through its medium. No Welsh *littérateur* has been able to obtain a living through its medium. Welsh students in English universities complain that they are under a disadvantage in not being able to express themselves in English. The amount of labour they have to spend in acquiring the gift, the Englishman has to spare for some other language. The Welsh language is not a key to any knowledge, whether scientific, theologic, or philosophic. What text-books or material the general student requires he must look for outside his own language. Whether both languages—English and Welsh—can continue to co-exist side by side in social, commercial, and religious life, is a question upon which one can venture to dogmatise. The stronger of the two must and will prevail. "Brutus," a wild Welsh journalist, long since dead, though he never mastered Welsh, for in style, idiom, and syntax he was execrable, wrote an essay in the vernacular on the poverty of the Welsh language; he was accused by Welshmen of "damnable heresy," and had to live for months amid a hailstorm of anathemas. "If you," said a friend to him one day, "had spent four years with the English, and had studied the language till you had mastered it, you could have been an editor of the *Times* instead of *Yr Haul* (*The Sun*). "Yes," Brutus replied; "I should then be allowed to shoot an eagle, and not rooks." If it were possible to keep the Welsh language alive for the use of religion, most Welshmen would be quite content if they heard nothing but English during the week. But that is not possible. I do not, however, believe that a nation can be great in two languages at the same time. When two languages are learned and spoken side by side, neither of them becomes the language of the heart; the one neutralises the effect of the other on the tem-

perament. This conviction is fast coming home to those bright Welsh preachers who have crossed the Welsh border and become domiciled in England. By sheer force of circumstances they are being compelled to abandon the Welsh, and to confine themselves to the English language. The two languages are so different in syntax, idiom, grammar, phonology, orthography, and vocabulary, that translations are never satisfactory from the point of view of the language into which they are made. The geniuses of the Welsh and the English languages are so essentially different that it is impossible for the same qualities to exhibit the same force and brilliancy in both. The Rev. Thomas Jones, the celebrated poet-preacher, friend of Browning, and father of two very eminent Welshmen—Sir David Brynmor-Jones, M.P., and the late Principal Viriamu Jones—was greater in English than he ever was in Welsh, and that partly owing to the fact that he had broken with the vernacular. When asked to explain why he was no longer as effective in Welsh as he used to be, he replied that he had come to the conclusion that he could not retain his power in the English pulpit if he continued to preach also in Welsh. He then decided to abandon the Welsh entirely. I know of no Welsh preacher who was ever great in both languages at the same time, unless it be the Rev. Kilsby Jones of Llanwrtyd Wells, who, at one time, was minister of Bridgeton Chapel, London. Not that I think that he could be technically called great, but whatever measure of greatness, as a pulpit orator, may be attributed to him, he revealed it in both languages. His case, however, is the exception that proves the rule. What is true of the individual is applicable to the nation. If the Welsh nation is to retain, perpetuate, or to augment the measure of greatness that it now possesses, it must either Anglicise or Welshicise itself. As Matthew Arnold truly said in his *Celtic Literature*: "If a Welshman has anything of importance to say, anything the world will the least care to hear, he must say it in English." Yes, and I may add, if he says it in English he has the chance of being read by two hundred millions of people. If he says it in German he has a constituency of seventy-five millions of people to draw upon. If he writes it in Welsh,

his audience would be miserably small, and one that grows smaller as the years pass. As a Welshman one regrets to say it, but Anglicisation is inevitable and totally within the next twenty years or so. For Welsh Wales there is no future. Much that is dear to the native heart will be lost in the process, and all the untranslated thought which is embodied in the literature of the people will remain in obscurity. But that Wales will be better off socially, commercially, and intellectually, is unquestionable.

CHAPTER VII

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

Part I.—Historical

AGRICULTURE, though among the most ancient of industries, is, as a science, still in its infancy. This is pre-eminently true of Wales. Farming could be made more remunerative and pleasurable than it is, if those whose instincts and traditions predispose them to look for their livelihood on the land had a more scientific knowledge of the properties of soils and manures, the breeding of live-stock, the care and use of implements, orchard planting, and the marketing of fruit, bee-keeping, poultry farming, forestry. In other branches of industry, training and aptitude have been considered essential to ultimate success, but pasture experiments, hedging and shearing, dairy work, manuring and veterinary knowledge have been regarded as among the simplest of the arts that men have to master. The discoveries of botanists, geologists, and chemists have established the fact that there is no occupation that requires a larger combination of acquirements than does farming, if it is to be conducted on practical and scientific lines.

As the population of the world increases it becomes more and more apparent that every cultivable acre of land must be made to grow its utmost limit of the produce peculiar to it. The best and fullest results are impossible, unless those who cultivate the soil have a more perfect understanding of the different kinds of soil, and the manurial substance that the different crops require. Sir William Crookes, the well-known scientist, referring to this, says that all crops require a "dominant" manure. Some need more nitrogen, some need

more potash, some need more phosphoric acid than others. Wheat pre-eminently demands nitrogen, but peas and beans, and suchlike crops, which have a special power of getting nitrogen from the atmosphere, do not require so much of it in the soil. On certain soils and applied to certain crops the several manures have special advantages. Much also depends upon the character of the season; there is wet-weather manure such as sulphate of ammonia, and dry-weather manure such as nitrate of soda. It is of the utmost importance that the farmer should know the most suitable manure for the various crops. Apart from manuring and cultivation, the productiveness of the land depends, naturally, upon the constitution of the rock. In studying the map of Wales we find it is the grey or slaty rock that lies beneath the surface of the larger part of Welsh land. There are small patches in the counties of Brecknock, Carmarthen, and Pembrokeshire, and other parts of the country that lie on red-sandstone, and a few here and there that lie on trap-rock. As the rock is so will be the soil. The slaty rock contains but little that goes to sustain life in plants and herbs, whereas the sandstone has in it all the metallic material of corn and pasture, and all that grows out of the earth. In the Northern part of the country are found the slaty rocks known as the Lower Silurian, and though it is largely agricultural, it is inevitable that industrial centres should be formed in that section; it includes vast slate and mineral areas. Central Wales and Powisland is more largely agricultural. South Wales is chiefly a coal-mining district with various industries such as iron, steel, copper, and tin. The Western and lowland portions are in the main agricultural, and are among the most fertile of the agricultural divisions. When the discovery of the vast coal-fields of South Wales was made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it practically revolutionised the country and brought with it a dense industrial population. Pits were sunk and iron-works opened in the wild, sequestered valleys of Glamorgan, railways were constructed wherever coal and iron were to be found, and workers poured southward like a flood—from England, Ireland, and the agricultural districts of Wales. The extent and magnitude of the newly

discovered mineral resources may be gauged by the fact that in 1909 over 53½ million tons of coal were raised in seven of the thirteen Welsh counties, aggregating a total value of 29 millions sterling, and giving employment to 220,000 persons in that year alone. In addition to this over 1¾ million tons of slate, building stone, and minerals other than coal were raised, in which industry not less than 18,000 men were engaged, and from which commerce benefited to the extent of nearly 2 millions sterling.

The reader will readily understand from the facts that I have stated how it is that only 15 per cent. of Welsh land is under crops and 24 per cent. under pasture. The total area of pasture and arable land is, relatively to the population, about the same in Wales as it is in Scotland. As to the general character of the country, it is very mountainous, too mountainous to ever attain to a flourishing state of agriculture. Large areas of the land are under common grazing, and the farming is chiefly pastoral. Wales is pre-eminently the land of meat, cheese, milk, and butter, being naturally favourable to pasture, but not to corn. It is cheaper for a Welsh farmer to buy his bread than to raise it. The cow grazes and gives milk, while the crop of corn, small as it necessarily is in a country like Wales, is rotting in the rain. The Welsh farmer can get all the bread he needs, delivered at his own door, at less cost and trouble than would be involved in producing it.

The Welsh climate is damp and cold; the seasons of the year are uncertain. Until the advent of the railways, the markets were inaccessible to the great majority of Welsh agriculturists, and they had but few, if any, points of social or business contact with their more fortunate neighbours, the Scots and the English. Broadly speaking, the farms are of the peasant and family type; more than two-thirds of the labourers are indoor or household labourers; the number would not exceed two to each holding. The proportion of women occupying farms is calculated to be more than double that of England, being about one to five. The bulk of the Welsh land is, for agricultural purposes, divided into areas possessed by owners, and cultivated by tenants on the year-

to-year tenancy, and, in some cases, by lessees for terms of years. The owners form a class among themselves, relegating the management of their estates to their agents, and depending upon the rents and profits for the upkeep of their establishments and the maintenance of their families.

Estates not unlike those of the present may be traced as far back as the days of James I. Wales was then divided into estates, many of which consisted of small, freehold parcels of land, others being freeholds of considerable extent. A few owners cultivated their own land, others merely lived on the income accruing from such property. Distinctions of class prevailed then as well as now.

The question that agitates the mind of an ever-increasing number of Welshmen is: How were these estates formed? Is it right and just that such an accumulation of land should be in the hands of a few? What passes under the name of democracy is becoming exceedingly inquisitorial, not from high historical motives, but mainly from political considerations. The doctrinaire politico-agriculturist not only wishes to know how much landed and other property certain individuals possess, but how did they come to possess it? This, apparently, was the spirit in which the Budget of 1909 had been framed. Tell us the amount of your income, its source, and its origin, was what that Budget meant. Books have been written on such subjects as "The Superstition called Socialism." Much depends upon what such writers mean by Socialism; there is a sense in which most men, to-day, are Socialists. As to that aspect of Socialism which was embodied in the Budget of 1909, it is a grim reality. In it there are forces that are full of perilous contingencies, and that have caused dismay not only to property owners, but to those who have regarded thrift as one of the greatest assets of an industrial nation. Responsible politicians need something besides generous instincts or obstructive prejudices. On the other hand, there has been too much abstract philosophy in the consideration and treatment of the economic problems that confront this age. We have to deal with a generation that is by no means philosophic, a generation that demands practical measures. The possession of landed property brings with it great re-

sponsibility, and to the credit of the majority of Welsh landowners it should be said, that, in their habitual treatment of their tenants, in the support they give to charitable movements, and in their religious example, they have endeavoured to recognise that responsibility. It is a mere truism to say that there have been, and are still, selfish and ignorant landlords, totally unworthy of respect and of their trust. However, the land must be owned by somebody—the individual or the community. The prevailing sentiment of what is called democracy is inimical to those who are possessors of land and other forms of property. They are practically regarded as the enemies of society, as enjoying privileges to which they may or may not have a rightful, if a lawful, claim. It would certainly be better if those landowners, especially absentee landowners, who have outlying estates which they cannot personally supervise, or live upon themselves, were to dispose of them, and, as far as possible, give the tenants an opportunity of purchasing, thus increasing the number of people who are really and legitimately desirous of owning land in the country of their birth.

As to the formation of the modern type of Welsh estates, it may be stated that it came into existence later in Wales than in England, and the rate at which the change, which substituted the present country squire and landowner for the old feudal lord marcher, took place, was considerably slower in the Principality proper than in the Marches. In going back to the time preceding the Edwardian conquest of North Wales, we find that the class who occupied the position most analogous to that of the modern estate owner, was the order formed by the lord marchers and the Welsh princes and lords. In so far as the land was cultivated, it was cultivated by the tenants—both free and servile—of the lords and princes, on the terms which were customary in those days, and which differed materially from the year-to-year tenancy that prevails at present.

In Tudor times the great majority of Welsh estates were small in size and limited in revenue. A few of them were extensive in area, though low in annual value. In that very valuable work, *The Welsh People*, by Sir John Rhys and

Sir David Brynmor Jones, M.P., the following statement is quoted from a letter written by Major-General Berry to Cromwell: "You can sooner find fifty gentlemen of 100*l* a year than five of 500*l*." It is further stated that in the list of baronets created by James I. only twelve were Welsh owners. The terms upon which he conferred the baronetcies were, that the knights or esquires should possess lands worth a thousand a year; the sum to be paid for the baronetcy being one thousand and eighty pounds in three annual instalments. By the year 1682 as many as 866 baronetcies had been conferred altogether, but only thirty-seven of the barons were Welsh owners. It is clear that the smallness of the Welsh representation was due to inability to pay for the honour. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, judging by the list of additional baronets created, some of the Welsh estates had greatly increased. The Revolution troubles of 1688 pressed heavily upon the poorer and inferior gentry, reducing them, in many instances, to the position of mere farmers. Others, who had mortgaged their property, and who were unable to discharge their obligations, were dispossessed and their property sold. Accumulation of land in the hands of the more fortunate was thus facilitated.

Among other causes which explain the disappearance of the old landed proprietors and the rise of the modern ones, may be mentioned the abolition of the old Welsh system of dividing the inheritance, and the introduction of the law of primogeniture; the assimilation of Welsh and English laws which was completed by the legislation of Henry VIII.; the decay of so many of the individual families forming the feudal baronage; the disappearance of Welsh princely houses and non-tribal occupiers; the development of manufacture and commerce, and the opening of the South Wales coal mines, which, as I have already intimated, added enormously to the capital value and yearly revenue of real property. In the time of Henry VIII. the Crown resorted to the practice of giving leases of the manorial rights over portions of the Crown possessions in Wales, to Court favourites, and to some of the most important freeholders. The profits and emoluments accruing from improvements connected with the estate went to the lessee.

The dissolution of the Welsh monasteries also gave the freehold tenants who had already accumulated property—as well as the Welsh families of princely origin and the Norman-English barons—an opportunity of adding the most fertile parts of the country to their estates, and, consequently, of increasing their social status and political power.

The Welsh Inclosure Acts led to the enlarging of many Welsh estates; extensive tracts of mountain and other land, which had formerly been used for common pasture, were divided up and appropriated. It explains the creation of so many of the scattered farms now seen on the various Welsh estates on the year-to-year tenancy. It may be interesting to note in this connection that the question of common Crown waste lands has been receiving some attention lately from a number of the more energetic Liberals in the Principality. It is claimed that considerable encroachments upon the public lands have taken place up to comparatively late years. It is evidently too late to seek to alter the possession of lands that *may* have belonged to the public, and the question of existing public rights could not be definitely ascertained without a properly constituted judicial inquiry. Such a course was recommended by the Commissioner appointed to inquire into the Crown lands of Merionethshire as far back as 1838, and it was further recommended by the Welsh Land Commission. The idea is to obtain such legislative enactment as will secure the rights of the public to utilise common lands both in North and South Wales, and also in the afforestation of mountain lands. Since the inquiry into manorial rights by Oliver Cromwell in 1652, Wales has had nothing except the Land Commission and the investigations of the Government Commissioner into the Crown Lands of Merionethshire in 1838.

The House of Commons has now, however, agreed to have a return made showing the land in Wales and Monmouthshire, now or formerly common land, over which the Crown possesses rights.

The return will give the following details:—

County, lordship, or manor, and parish or group of parishes.

Acres of unenclosed land still belonging to the Crown.

Acres of land formerly belonging to the Crown and sold since 1788, subject to a reservation of Crown mineral rights (including Crown allotments), together with a reference to the Inclosure Act and award and place of deposit of award.

Total area.

This much is certain, whatever may be the conclusions, the only effect of such an inquiry will be to safeguard public rights against any *further* encroachments.

As to the other causes which account for the advancement of the fortunes of the larger and wealthier freeholders and the lords of the manor, may be mentioned the process of mortgages and subsequent sales. These classes were always ready to buy up their embarrassed neighbours.

Strange as it may seem, the granting of Parliamentary representation to Wales was another factor that tended to the accumulation of land and power in the hands of the few. Owing to the nature of the franchise, and the lack of general education among the people of earlier times, and the backward state of the farming community, intellectually, the Welsh gentry and the great landowning classes were the only available Parliamentary candidates. Partly for this reason and partly owing to the great regard which the tenants of those days had for their landlords, and partly because the doctrinaire politico-agriculturist had not then made his appearance, the Welsh Parliamentary representation remained under their control for generations. It brought them into contact with English official life and even the English Court, and gave them far-reaching opportunities to augment their fortunes. It led to inter-marriages between them and the English aristocracy, thus greatly increasing their status not only in England but in Wales, and especially among their own tenants. They might have consolidated their position by keeping in closer touch with the people at large, but the injudicious alliance which they formed with the clergy, and the unwillingness they so often displayed to grant sites for Nonconformist places of worship, and which were constantly in demand, proved as detrimental to the interests of the clergy as it did to the interests of the landowners themselves. In addition to this, the whole tendency of legislation and of administration in

this country at that time was against the continuance of the ascendancy which they had so long maintained. The direction of public affairs was being gradually transferred from the hands of the Whigs and the nobility to the hands of the masses of the people. There was a larger unfolding of intelligence among the masses, and a more general awakening of the higher feelings of the nation.

As to the transition from the tribal form of tenure to the present system of year-to-year tenancy, I commend the treatment which may be found in *The Welsh People.* It has the merit of candour and of sanity, combined with high legal and historical knowledge. It is demonstrated that the present year-to-year tenants are not the *direct* successors of the ancient Welsh tribesmen, that the number of those of them that have survived is very small, and that they are still paying the ancient quit-rents. If there are any survivors in Wales, it is conclusive evidence that their ancestors drifted into the present kind of tenancy either through the natural operation of economic changes, or through the expiration of the leases for lives or years, or because they availed themselves of their long-standing legal right to sell their holdings in the open market. It is not necessary for the purposes of this work to enter minutely into the structure of the tribal system as it existed at the coming of the English into Wales in the fifth and sixth centuries, or as it existed at the time of the Edwardian conquest. It will suffice if I refer, in a general way, to the customary law as to tenancy, as it was in force before the introduction of the law of primogeniture and English tenure into Wales, in the reign of Henry VIII.

The ancient Welsh tribal system, in so far as it applied to the occupation of the land, subordinated the individual to the family group. The rights of the individual were vested in those of the kindred, and those of the kindred in the head of the group. Whatever rights existed were tribal. It was an aristocratic rather than a democratic form of community. The principle of the family group was legally and formally recognised after the Edwardian conquest, and the question of occupation, or of rights, which were chiefly pastoral rights, was decided on tribal, not personal, grounds. Districts were

occupied by family groups, or several such groups, having *undivided* shares in the tribal occupation of the district. The land, in general, was open to the common herd for grazing purposes.

This state of things continued until the reign of Henry VIII. The Statute of Henry VIII. did not, and could not, take full and immediate effect, and the task of bringing whatever tribal rights that remained among the descendants of free tribesmen, within the domain of English law, had to be undertaken by the Crown lawyers of Queen Elizabeth.

In the process of reorganisation grave injustices resulted in certain special cases, but the intention of the Crown lawyers was beyond reproach. They were actuated by a desire to do justice to the tenants, and to protect their interests. The problem that faced them was full of complications—legal, social, and historical. The old Welsh tenancy had been abolished, and the future status of the occupiers — both tribesmen and non-tribesmen — had to be decided. The distinguishing mark of the free tribesmen was that they were bound together by ties of blood-relationship, which were regarded as sacred. The various family groups kept together until a final division was made among the great-grandchildren of its original head. The rights of the tribal, or family, groups were subject to periodical divisions, the original inheritance being retained as the family right. When the final division was made at the death of the last of the great-grandchildren of the original head, new groups were formed. The non-tribesmen were considered strangers, having no blood-relationship with the free tribesmen.

This fact constituted a permanent barrier between the two classes. In the South it could be removed either by inter-marriage with tribeswomen covering a period of four generations, or by a continuous residence under a chieftain for nine generations. Unlike the free tribesmen the non-tribesmen had no family groups with their heads; they were settled upon the estates of the head tribesmen, and lived in groups or hamlets, having no rights of inheritance, kindred not being recognised until after a period of residence in the same place covering four generations, when the descendants

of the family became permanently attached to the land. So that when the question of status and right came to be determined, there were several interests to be considered, viz., those of the chieftains, the successors of the free tribesmen, and the descendants of non-tribesmen who had by long residence overcome the traditional tribal law as to kindred and had acquired family rights. They lived in families like the free tribesmen, though they were not acknowledged as belonging to the tribe. The rights of the chieftains were vested, eventually, in the Crown, and both tribesmen and non-tribesmen became the direct tenants of the Crown, the Crown being placed in the position of a territorial lord, though the Crown did not get the whole of the rents. Leases, called Crown leases, were granted to Court favourites, and, in many instances, to a farmer of the lordship. Some of the leases contained certain provisions for the protection of the tenants. The farmer had to give a bond pledging himself to abide by the decision of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, in case of any dispute between him and his tenants. The value of the rents which tenants had previously paid in kind were ascertained, and, in the fourteenth century, were commuted into fixed money payments. It was a distinct advantage to the peasants, for it protected them from those who might be disposed to make exorbitant demands upon their services.

There was a further advantage to the tenants in the fact that the value of the land and the price of cattle had greatly increased, so that by the time of Queen Elizabeth the quit-rents had been reduced to a mere nominal sum. In the ordinary course of things the tenants, or their descendants, would, if they had remained on their holdings, have become entitled to absolute ownership at a nominal rental per acre. But the disturbances and disorganisation caused by the rebellion of Owain Glyn Dwr, the forfeitures for joining in that rebellion, the ravages of the Black Death in 1349, and the many escheats caused by it, made it impossible. Similar causes did not operate in the case of English copyholders, who, generally speaking, became, in course of time, owners of the holdings which they and their ancestors had occupied.

Moreover, the confusion that had resulted through the relaxation of the customary ties and the divisions and sub-divisions, generation after generation, right up to the reign of Henry VIII., had greatly increased the complications. The question of individual rights and the validity of the copyhold of the numerous descendants of the old patriarchal head, was much more involved in virtue of the fact that the tribesmen were not joint-tenants, some of them possessing only rights of maintenance.

In addition to this, even under the English law, the commuted rents were chargeable upon *districts*, not *individuals*, or families, and the rights of grazing and of ownership were vested in the heads of families. The effect of the application of the English law of primogeniture, and of the settlement made by the Crown lawyers of Queen Elizabeth, was advantageous to the descendants of the old free tribesmen, for the reason that their rights were respected. But while their freehold rights were respected, their freehold rights in the land—the land going in succession to heads of families—were still confined to the heads of families, with the result that those who could not, by the terms of the settlement, share in such freehold rights, were glad to become year-to-year tenants, or with leases, either on the land of the larger freeholder, or of the lord of the manor. Hence the large number of year-to-year tenants, having the option or right of succession descending from father to son, existing in Wales at present.

With regard to the descendants of the non-tribesmen, they were permitted to retain their holding by the grant of leases for twenty-one years, or leases for three lives, such renewals being an admission of the fact that they were tenants at will, having no freehold rights. The leases on three lives were the survivals of the system of granting renewable leases in lieu of the uncertain and indefinite rights of permanent occupation, which were claimed by the descendants or successors of the ancient tribesmen and non-tribesmen, such renewable leases having been first granted as a way of solving the difficulty arising out of the fact that both tribesmen and non-tribesmen had become, in the course of years,

mixed together; such leases involving the surrender of their former estates before the leases could be granted. The renewal was conditional upon the payment of a reasonable fine, the amount being determined at will by the lord of the manor. The absence of a fixed amount operated injuriously in many instances. After a series of legal decisions, the amount was legally fixed at two years' improved value of the holding. The year-to-year tenancy was far more satisfactory to the tenants than the renewable leases, for the reason that it held out the prospect of a more permanent tenure; it was also the more popular of the two systems with the new tenants. Thus the old Welsh tenants passed, after a series of legal judgments, through the process of renewable leases for a term of years, or for lives, to the present year-to-year tenancy.

Part II.—Present Conditions

There are but few, if any, points of resemblance between the Welsh land question of to-day and that of the periods which I have had under discussion. The problems are not so acute or complicated, and there are no serious historical considerations that need be taken into account in the effort to solve whatever difficulties may have to be adjusted. The minority of the Land Commissioners suggested some alterations that are hardly necessary to-day. Great social, political, and economic changes have taken place since the time when the Crown lawyers of Queen Elizabeth had to deal with the question of Welsh tenure. Farming was then practically the only available avenue for the investment of what little capital the Welshman had to spare, either in cultivating his land, or in purchasing other parcels of freehold. The land was the source from which the nation drew its strength, its domestic virtues, and its stability. But the whole aspect of agricultural Wales changed when industrial Wales came into existence. The process of denuding the country to gorge the busy centres continued from year to year, and the land was regarded as something apart from the stern activity of a nation working for its living; while trade and commerce flourished,

agriculture was on the decline. Speaking at Merthyr in 1851, the late Lord Aberdare said: "I know no other part of the Empire in which, one year with another, wages are so high, food and fuel are so cheap and plentiful, and workmen's dwellings so substantial and convenient." Thus it is seen that *industrial*, not rural Wales, has been the main factor in determining the social conditions of the Wales of to-day. The Welsh land question is essentially different from that of England or Ireland. Wales, as I have already intimated, is at present a country of Small Holdings. Two-thirds of its farms are under fifty acres in extent, its *average* farm is only forty-seven acres. In England the farms are extensive, and the tenant, who is a capitalist, takes no personal part in farming operations; he is a man who occupies a better social position. There was a general reduction in English rents after 1870, but not in Wales. In five of the North Wales counties rents went up by 16 per cent., and in spite of the fact that the price of agricultural produce had fallen and that the rates had increased and the wages of the labourer had been raised. The explanation is, that Wales is a country of small farms which can be taken by men of small means, and cultivated by the occupier. Small lettings in themselves are of no avail, neither is small ownership of itself a royal road to national prosperity and agricultural regeneration. Industry is an asset, so is honesty, so is the traditional love of the land, but the land—the soundest of all realities—is too precious a thing to allow men of no means to gamble with it. The land is the basis of security and progress.

Apart from the rise of industrial Wales, what are the chief causes that account for the backward state of agriculture in the Principality? First, there is the influence of education. This is not peculiar to Wales, but it has affected Wales. An outlook which satisfied the old Welsh peasants of generations ago, does not appeal either to the necessities or to the imagination of the children of the present. The very ambitions that modern education has implanted in the Welsh country lad are such that country life cannot satisfy; hence the constant unrest and increasing desire for city life, the exchange, the factory, and the University. The Welsh country

youth can no longer be persuaded to rest content with a bare living and a cramped existence.

Previous to the year 1908 Wales was not separately distinguished in the Board of Trade returns giving the nationality of passengers leaving the United Kingdom for places out of Europe. According to the census of 1911, 4004 persons left Wales in 1908; 4540 in 1909; 5785 in 1910. Up to the end of March of this year (1911), 1535 emigrated from Wales to America, the Colonies, and other parts outside of Europe. This is an average of about 500 per month, or 6000 per year. This is a big drain on a small country like Wales, that has by no means an overplus of brain, blood, and muscle. Not that emigration is in itself an evil; within certain well-defined limits it is a sign of vitality, and when within the confines of the Empire it is a matter for congratulation. The emigrants are made up of town-bred artisans as well as country-bred farm-hands and labourers. It is, when all the facts are considered, a symptom of disease in the body politic and economic. It is a loss of capital as well as of manhood. If we take the capital of the 15,864 persons that have left Wales since 1908, to commence their life in a new land, at an average of £20 per head, which is not excessive, it represents a cash loss to Wales of £317,280. This is quite as serious as the loss of the manhood of the nation. Those who emigrate from Wales are, in the great majority of cases, the most enterprising in the community. It has been claimed that this question of emigration is a rural question exclusively. It is not so in Wales; the facts do not warrant such a one-sided view of the question. But, even assuming that it is exclusively a rural problem, it presses with double effect in the case of agricultural Wales, especially as the population in the agricultural districts is steadily decreasing. There has been a decided check in the growth of rural population. Cardigan is a striking illustration. One great cause, if not the greatest, that accounts for the exodus to other lands from the Welsh farming community, is the conviction that there are no prospects for them on Welsh soil. They are handicapped by an unsound fiscal system which disables them to compete with their foreign rivals in

their own market at home. Farm produce can be brought from the Continent and placed in the English market at a cheaper rate than it can be transported from Cardiganshire or Pembrokeshire to London. The Welsh farmers are not given a position of equality with the foreigner. The countryside does not afford the sons of Welsh farmers an opportunity for their legitimate energies, and they are leaving the land.

The Land Commission of 1890 demonstrated that the desperate plight of the Welsh farmer was due to two things, namely, high rents and Free Trade. In 1815 the total rental of Wales was £1,932,000; in 1889, it was £3,273,191. During that period it had increased 70 per cent., while in the same period in England the advance had only been 5 per cent. By 1890, the Welsh rent-roll produced £3,127,398, a reduction of 5 per cent., while that year saw a reduction in England of 20 per cent. But it was not the heavy rent alone that crushed the Welsh farmer. The reduction of the price of corn and a corresponding depreciation in the value of stock, especially of sheep and their wool, contributed largely to this sad state of things. The late Mr. Thomas Gee admitted in his evidence before the Land Commission that this was a result of Free Trade.

This does not include the number of those who, through finding country life irksome and unprofitable, migrate to the Welsh coal-fields, the Welsh towns, and various parts of England, notably London, Manchester, and Liverpool. Even boys in country schools exhibit signs of the unrest which has taken possession of the agricultural community. The cry, "Bring them back to the land," when they are gone from the land, is worse than useless, for once a youth has a taste of town life, or of life in a busy industrial centre where there is something to interest and amuse him, and, above all, where a competence is to be gained, he will never return. It would be more to the purpose to try and keep the youth on the land. This can only be done by interesting the young in the land, and making it worth their while to remain on it. Far too much attention is being paid in rural schools to training pupils to secure scholarships and to qualify for clerkships. A bias is given at the very start in favour of certain spheres of

usefulness, and that bias is invariably against the land as a desirable avenue for a young man's activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that farmers cannot keep their sons at home when they leave school. The boys are learning everything but what is necessary to keep them on the land; they are taught nothing that has to do with the life of the district. They grow up, the majority of them, under the impression that to work with the hand as a ploughman is not so dignified or important as to be writing at a desk, or serving as a draper's assistant in a big London establishment, or even keeping a Welsh dairy in London!

Those who object to a modification of the curriculum in Welsh rural schools on the ground that it might interfere with the development of the intelligence and the general cultivation of rural children, forget the important fact that there is no finality, and for all time, in educational theory. There may be finality for a while, but disintegrating forces are perpetually at work, so the whole process of breaking down and building up has to be gone through by successive generations. It is possible to have a compact system, but not a permanent system. They also lose sight of the fact that one of the main objects of education is to fit children to fight the battle of life, and that the best battle that the majority of Welsh rural children can fight is on the soil where they were bred, and for which they naturally have a predisposition. The education that kills a child's instincts is no education in the best sense of the term. This does not imply a limitation of the curriculum to the express and immediate requirements of rural districts—that would be too narrow a basis. But if agriculture is to be maintained as an industry, men must be educated for it, and educated in all its branches. School subjects should be brought into closer relationship with the actual surroundings of the pupil and with his future occupation. This is a sound principle. It is not a new principle. It is as old as Pestalozzi and Froebel, and older. The idea has been the inspiring force, consciously or unconsciously, behind every educational revolution. It was the mainspring of the revolt against the classical curriculum in Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century, which led to the

establishment of numerous "Academies" in place of the old-fashioned "Grammar Schools." But the principle has taken a firmer hold now than ever before; it may be said to be a cardinal point in modern educational theory, and to this may be traced most of the educational ferment of the last few years.

Tradition in education is not the force it used to be. To put the fact figuratively, educational opinion at present is in a liquid condition. But science has given us a principle that educationists have adopted, viz., adaptation to environment. If the principle is to be effective in education in the country schools, it is obvious that the curriculum must take account of the daily work and life of the country. The ignorance of the Welsh country-bred boy—and girl also—of to-day, regarding the commonest objects of nature within their own range of observation, is astonishing. In fact very little is done in Welsh rural schools, or in Welsh elementary schools in general, to cultivate the faculty of observation. Country-bred boys are out of touch with their surroundings chiefly for the reason that the real charm and appeal of the country have never been made known to them, either in their schools, chapels, or homes. It is not surprising, therefore, that the country should pall upon the country-bred boy and girl, and that they should drift citywards, where the attractions are more garish and varied. It is time that this one idea should be set before the rural schools, viz., to arrange a curriculum that will bring the country pupil into a more intelligent and sympathetic relationship with his environment; also to bring the pupil into direct contact with the work of the every-day life around him. Short of teaching the actual practice of agriculture, much can be done to interest pupils in the land. A reformed rural school would accomplish more in future years by way of keeping people on the land, than the present Small Holdings Act, however excellent in intention, can ever hope to do. Of what ultimate use can it be to place men, by an Act of Parliament, on the land, who will bring up children possessing no sympathy with the land? If the solidifying process is to be effective, what is done by legislation should be supplemented by education.

Secondly, another factor is defective agricultural knowledge. The paucity of the Welsh language and its dearth of scientific terms are nowhere more apparent than in this branch of literature. The few who attempted in past times to enlighten the Welsh farmer by writing or addressing him in the vernacular, were obliged to use English scientific terms; but they found him actuated by strong prejudice against any innovation, and the attempt to introduce scientific teaching was met with open contempt. His general ignorance was in itself a problem, so was his conservatism. The Welsh farmer is a Liberal in politics but a Conservative by tradition. He is not very responsive to teaching. He is highly suspicious and slow to take on new ideas. A certain enterprising farmer in the heart of Cardiganshire bought a hay-mowing machine, the first of its kind seen in the district; but the farmers were so annoyed that they would not speak to him, and they went as far as to put pegs in the field at night in order to destroy the machine. Some have had, and still have, deep-rooted prejudice against fertilisers. They do not know how to use them. The reason they advance is that the fertilisers produce weeds—as if there were no weeds on Welsh farms! The duty of the farmer is to remove weeds and keep the land clean, which many Welsh farmers neglect to do. For a long while, and even yet in many parts, the Welsh farmer would have nothing to do with artificial manure. He has been accustomed to farmyard manure and lime. This manure, in connection with lime, is complete manure because it contains phosphoric acid or phosphate of lime, potash, and nitrogen, which are the chief plant foods. But the difficulty in Wales and in all old farming communities is that there is not enough of farmyard manure. Science has come to the rescue by supplying artificial manure that supplements the deficiency. But the Welsh farmer, in many cases, is suspicious of artificial manure, and does not want to use it; so he goes on fooling himself, and fooling the land; and he curses his fate. Then the doctrinaire-politician comes along and persuades him that the mischief is with the laws of the land and the landlord. Everything is put down to bad legislation and unjust treatment. The root of the evil has been that the Welsh farmer has not been honest with the land;

he has not given the land what the land has a right to expect by way of manuring, etc.

In *Manures that Pay*, a most valuable handbook published at sixpence, there is an encouraging illustration of manurial experiments. Herr Schickert, a German farmer, had a farm of 175 acres in size, 1000 feet above sea-level, and situated about 30 miles south-east of Mayence. The farm was notorious for its sterility, and had ruined Herr Schickert's predecessors. It was choked with weeds, and it was impossible to grow clover. How stony the land was may be judged by the fact that in some parts of the farm he removed about 130 cwt. to the acre. At the end of his third year he found that he had spent all his capital, and that he was still working his farm at a loss. He decided to consult Professor Paul Wagner, of Darmstadt, a noted agricultural scientist, whose system of store manuring has proved so successful that it would be worth while to bring it to the notice of all farmers on this side of the German Ocean. Professor Wagner starts with the assumption that if the store of phosphoric acid, or of any other plant food, in the soil, is exhausted, or nearly so, a considerable quantity will have to be put into the soil again to replace what has been taken out. The store having been replenished, it is only necessary, in subsequent years, to add a smaller amount, a fourth of what was put in at first, to continue the good effect. He has proved by experiments that the phosphoric acid contained in basic slag remains in the soil for a very long time. There can be no doubt that Professor Wagner's store-manuring method is one of the most important steps made in agricultural progress.

Herr Schickert gave Professor Wagner full particulars of his soil, which was exceedingly poor, consisting, to a great extent, of sand and stone. The Professor told him what it was in need of. You must put into it, he said, plenty of basic slag and kainit. His exact prescription was as follows: 13 cwt. of basic slag, 7 cwt. of kainit, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of nitrate, per acre. Half of the basic slag was ploughed in in the autumn, the other half being harrowed in in the spring. The kainit was also applied in the spring. One half of the nitrate was applied before the seed was sown in the spring,

and the other half some weeks later, when the seed began to shoot, so that the young growth might be encouraged. Herr Schickert is now able to keep up the fertility of his land by using only from 1½ to 2 cwt. of basic slag per acre annually. As to the profits, he estimates that Professor Wagner's system of store-manuring enables him to make, on an average, a profit of £5, 16s. per acre on rye; of £3 per acre on barley; of £5 per acre on oats; of £12, 10s. per acre on mangolds; of £6, 5s. per acre on potatoes; of £8, 10s. per acre on lucerne. The total net income he now derives from his farm of 175 acres is from £600 to £700 per annum. This one illustration is sufficient to prove that the benefits of artificial manuring do not exist only in the imagination, and it is clear that a practical example of this kind will appeal more strongly to the grower and cultivator than the belated reports of manurial experiments carried out at various agricultural colleges.

Not only is the average Welsh farmer ignorant of the use and the value of artificial manuring, but he is ignorant of farming as an art. He lacks knowledge of the first principles of scientific farming. Not that the Welsh land system is incapable of improvement. The Welsh leasehold system is worse than that of London, which has been condemned, and the Welsh life-leases are nothing better than a gamble and an injustice. However, no analysis of the present agrarian conditions in Wales would be satisfactory that did not take into consideration the comparative ignorance of the Welsh farming community, their general ignorance, and their ignorance of the various branches of their work. It is not enough to provide land, though that is the first and necessary step; holders, whether small-holders or not, need to know what crops will pay them best, how to secure the best and the largest possible production, and how to get the best prices for their cattle and produce. They should arrange their crop in such rotation that if one crop failed, they would have something else to fall back upon. During the last ten years there has been a marked improvement in Welsh agriculture generally, and the rising generation of Welsh farmers are certainly more amenable to teaching than their parents were.

The Welsh farmer complains that he cannot make a living, and that money which ought to go into his own pocket goes into the pocket of the foreigner. That is partly, though not wholly, the result of his own stupidity. The farm labourer of to-day expects more pay and does less work; thus the expenses of tilling the land are higher, with the result that the farmer allows his farm to run into gorse and all kinds of weeds; his hedges are neglected, and the farm is not properly drained. The cattle, in the majority of cases, have been ill-fed and ill-protected during the long winter months; instead of being provided with proper and ample fodder, they have been neglected, with the result that the cows and the sheep had very little milk for the calf and the lamb. Whole acres of land, comprised of various strips, have been left untouched, producing nothing but weeds, and which have been allowed to scatter their poisonous seeds over adjacent fields. As I have already stated, the mountainous character of the country precludes the possibility of it ever attaining to a highly prosperous state of agriculture. There are, however, extensive tracks of cultivable land, with varieties of soil, well-watered and of elevation, which lend themselves to various purposes of fruit, vegetables, and flower cultivation, but the chaotic and haphazard manner in which the industry is being conducted limits the productiveness of the land and incapacitates the Welsh farmer to meet the competition of the foreigner in the Welsh market.

In the term "foreigner" I include the Irish farmer, for he is becoming quite a considerable competitor in the Welsh market, and the Imperial Government has given the Irish farmer advantages which have been denied to the Welsh farmer. The industry in Ireland has been placed on an organised and remunerative basis. Funds have been placed at his disposal, and substantial assistance has been given him to enable him to purchase his holding, and his first business when he gets Home Rule will be to set up a tariff against Welsh and English farm produce. The last Unionist Government, under Mr. Balfour, rendered lasting service to Ireland when it established in that country, with the assistance of Sir Horace Plunket, a Department of Agriculture with a

Parliamentary Vice-President. Much of the credit is due to the strenuous and self-denying efforts of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and it is a grave reflection upon the Welsh Parliamentary Party that it should be so apathetic with regard to the urgent need of Wales for similar treatment. They have had the opportunity, so has the Government which they have helped to keep in office. The Welsh members, as a body, might have been dead, or Wales disfranchised, for all the good they have done as a Party, especially, to agricultural Wales. The Imperial Government has found it impossible to ignore the persistent efforts of the Irish contingent, and it is reasonable to assume that if the Welsh Party had been more vigorous and united on a matter of such great importance to Welsh agriculturists, something would have been done. Almost every profession and every branch of industry, even the capitalist and the millionaire, are represented in the House of Commons through the Welsh Parliamentary Party. But I know of nothing that they have done for the farming community as a class. The Welsh miner, and the Welsh mining industry, are amply protected in the House, and in the Government.

While the Welsh farmer has been persistently ignored in Parliament, both by the Welsh Party and by the Government, the agricultural prosperity of Ireland and its accumulated capital and taxable capacity have been advancing by leaps and bounds. The latest available statistics show that, during the past twenty years, the deposits and cash balances in Irish joint-stock banks have been increasing at the rate of more than a million a year, and that, in the same period, the number of savings-bank depositors has almost trebled, and the balances at their credit have mounted up proportionately. If it be true, as Mr. Redmond says, that population has continued to decline, this only shows that the policy of employing State aid in fixing the people on the land as small owners does not of itself suffice to arrest depopulation. Ireland is sharing a depletion from which all old agricultural regions are suffering —a depletion which, in her case, shows signs of approaching a turning-point. And if a larger amount of wealth is now distributed among a smaller population, all the greater must

be the rise in the average level of Irish well-being. The credit of the United Kingdom has been placed at her service in raising and applying loans by which over three hundred thousand tenants of land have been turned into owners, on the basis of terminable payments considerably lower than their former rents. More than one hundred millions of pounds have been advanced on British security to carry out transactions already agreed upon, and a sum nearly as large may be required before the process of the purchase and transfer of Irish land is complete.

Mr. Redmond complains that the Irish official class is ridiculously over-numerous and overpaid. There are three answers. The first is that Mr. Redmond makes a grievance of every benefit conferred upon his country. The second is that Irish officials are paid out of the British Exchequer, and the money is spent in Ireland. The third is that the increase in the number of Irish officials and, therefore, the increase in salaries, has been mainly due to the generous introduction by the British Government of new machinery and agencies for aiding and benefiting Irish people. The working of the Land Purchase Acts and of the Congested Districts Board, the distribution and administration of the large sums annually voted by Parliament in aid of Irish agriculture and Irish industries, and of the money provided under the various Public Works Acts, render necessary the services of a large official staff. In any other country this would be regarded as a double benefit derived by Ireland from the Union. Mr. Redmond sees in the transfer of money from British to Irish pockets only evidence of the way in which Ireland is being "robbed" by her partner. The growth in Irish expenditure, he says, is merely "the inevitable rise in the cost of governing the country against the will of the people." Wales would gladly pocket more wrongs of the kind than fall to her share. According to Mr. Redmond, Ireland is "forced to spend a certain amount on law and administration justice." But there is no reason why Ireland, any more than her sister nations, should be exempt from law and justice. Ireland, in point of fact, pays only a small fraction of what she spends on this and other machinery of civilised government. The charge of keep-

ing peace and order, which in the larger island is placed mainly on the rates, is, in Ireland, drawn from the Treasury. The cost of Irish education, which Mr. Redmond complains of as underpaid, comes from the same source; and the Irish householder knows no more of school-rate than he does of house-duty. Whether sufficient or not, grants and votes for educational purposes are on a more liberal scale than in England or Scotland or Wales. The same rule is followed, almost without exception, with regard to almost all Irish claims on the Exchequer. It was begun when Ireland was a much poorer country than it is to-day; it is continued and developed now that the economic condition of Ireland is, in not a few particulars, a subject for envy and emulation to Wales, Scotland, and England, who, while they have been no better endowed by nature, have been much less generously treated by Parliament. Returns obtained last year show that the amounts paid from the Exchequer towards the expense of light railways, fishery, piers, drainage, and congested district charges amounted, in twenty years, to £2,675,000 in Ireland, and £127,000 in England. They also show that, whereas Ireland formerly furnished a gradually diminishing surplus of revenue over expenditure as a contribution towards Imperial services, this has disappeared, and was replaced in 1909–10 by a deficit, representing excess of local expenditure over revenue of £2,357,000.

Mr. Redmond calls this "British robbery of Ireland," and "British injustice towards Ireland," and on this, in part, he forms an urgent claim for Irish Home Rule. The grants in aid of agriculture in other portions of the kingdom are a mere pittance compared with the handsome sums annually voted for the encouragement of Irish husbandry and rural industries. An Irish Home Rule Administration would have found it impossible to undertake this work; were it installed to-morrow, it would find it impossible to continue and finish it. British credit and British contributory aid have alone made it practicable. Ireland, under any scheme of Home Rule preserving the appearance of financial justice to the other two countries, would have to take upon herself the burden of financing her land purchase scheme, of finding money for the encourage-

ment of her own agricultural and other interests, and of providing pensions for her own aged poor. The truth is, that Ireland, financially speaking, is the spoiled child of the constitution, and makes grievances out of the very favours that are lavished on her. To have given new life and hope, new motives and aspirations, to the class which forms the backbone of the Irish community, is an achievement of the highest value and interest.

Third, there is the question of the want of capital. It would be possible to treble the value of many a Welsh holding if the occupier had a few hundred pounds to spare for cultivation and improvements. It has so often been assumed that no capital is necessary for farming, and Welsh landlords have been too prone to let holdings to men with but little or no capital. The desire to live on the land either as tenants or as owners must be supplemented by cash. To place moneyless men on the land, however industrious they may be, is to doom them to a life of profitless drudgery. A farmer is in greater need of capital than an ordinary tradesman, for the reason that land returns are slower. The land does not give sudden wealth as does trade; it requires at least a year's credit. Considerable time must elapse before the cattle pay for their keep. There is much waste wild land in Wales that needs to be drained and put under cultivation, and buildings that stand in need of repair, but the tenant has not the means. He ought to be able to provide fodder for his cattle while he is endeavouring to place his farm on a self-sustaining basis, and to enable him to wait for the most profitable time to dispose of his stock, instead of being compelled, out of sheer necessity, to sell at the lowest price simply in order to pay his rent and to meet sundry obligations incurred in the working of his holding. Money makes money, and debt makes debt. If the farmer has capital he can buy the requisite implements and machinery; he can purchase fertilisers, food-stuffs, seeds, and other necessaries on the most advantageous terms, and he can insist upon getting articles of good quality.

Money gives courage, and, when industry is added to it, power is increased tenfold. Poverty, whether it be the result of waste, indolence, or want of character, severely tests a man's

morals. A few acres of land well cared for, and within the limits of a farmer's financial capacity, would be more profitable than many acres half cultivated through lack of capital. Too much land and too little capital has been the ruin of many a Welsh farmer. The position of a skilled artisan, or of an unskilled labourer, in receipt of a stipulated weekly wage, is more secure and comfortable than that of a landed tenant who has no means. He has less anxiety and less responsibility, his hours of labour are fewer, and his life less arduous. There are hundreds of farm-hands who would hesitate to exchange lots with their masters even if the opportunity were offered them. What the Welsh tenant-farmer needs is credit, for it is the motive force of business. But credit is coy and erratic. At no time has it been easy for the Welsh farmer to obtain loans, even of trifling amounts, from the banks; but the disappearance of the old local proprietary banks and their amalgamation with the unsympathetic joint-stock concerns have made it more than difficult. The joint-stock bank manager has not much consideration for the Welsh tenant-farmer. One reason is that he lacks confidence in the Welsh farmer's veracity and integrity, and he frankly claims that his lack of trust is the fruit of bitter personal experience.

Fourth, insecurity of tenure. In one sense Welsh tenure is more secure than it was for the reason that political and religious considerations no longer affect tenancies. There have been a few Welsh landlords utterly unworthy of their trust, being harsh, selfish, and unreasonable, taking no interest either in the tenants who toiled on their estates, or in the social and intellectual life of the people at large; adding to the burdens of those whom they ought to respect and protect. The majority of Welsh landlords, however, have been humane and charitable to the poor of the land. They are honoured wherever they are known, for they are just and generous. They have been, and are still, first and foremost in every philanthropic movement which has for its object the elevation of the masses and the spread of intelligence among the illiterate.

However, most of the big estates in Wales are settled, and

trustees and tenants for life can have no regard to anything but legal rights, with the result that on a sale the tenant often sinks his own improvements, owing to the fact that he effected the improvements without the necessary consent in writing. The tenant is merely entitled to what improvements he has made, provided such improvements served to increase the value of the property. If he has spent money to no effect either on drainage, buildings, or walling a field, which have added little or nothing to the worth or letting value of the property, and done it without consulting his landlord, he cannot expect his landlord to recoup him. The Land Commissioners recommended unanimously that the tenant should be paid the difference in the value of his holding at the time he left, as compared with its value when he took possession, the later value being its value as an agricultural letting, and the increase, if any, being attributable to what he himself had done. The Commissioners were also unanimous in recommending that the tenant should not be disturbed in his tenancy on the death of the owner, or the sale of the property. The propriety, or even justice, of this part of their recommendation is not quite so apparent to me as the one relating to improvements. But, as a general principle, there can be no doubt as to the necessity of strengthening the clause against disturbance, and it should be made difficult, if not impossible, save by mutual consent, to end an agricultural tenancy by less than twelve months' notice.

A tenant who has capital will not be disposed to lay it out on another's property in the absence of definite protection; there is no protection in a tenancy entirely at will. There have been cases in Wales where landowners have advanced the rent for no other reason than that the value of the holding had been increased, and increased through the voluntary efforts, and at the expense, of the tenant himself. When the tenant demurred, or objected to the increased charges, the tenancy was given to a competitor who was prepared to pay the higher rent. There are plenty of such competitors in the Principality, but they are not of much use either to the land or landlord. It accounts for the high, and, in many instances, excessive rentals of Welsh holdings, and the fact

that the occupiers are poor, with but little, if any, chance of improving their lot. The policy of granting holdings to the highest bidder has been the policy of some impecunious landlords, with the results that the land suffers. It is difficult to determine which is the more undesirable, an impecunious tenant or an impecunious landlord; when both cross palms it is disastrous to the interest of the holding. Very often it is the man who cannot afford that offers or accepts the higher rent, but the landlord needs money, and his necessity overcomes his discretion. So the struggle continues, and the farmer resorts to every expediency in order to meet the rent when due, and denies himself of those necessaries which he and his family could obtain without difficulty were he to devote his energies to some other branch of industry.

The question has often been discussed as to whether the Welsh small-holder made any profits out of his holding. No balance-sheets are available, but a sidelight is thrown on the question by the accounts prepared in connexion with the Old Age Pensions. Through these it has been discovered that the profit is practically non-existent, especially if any value be placed on the labour gratuitously rendered by the members of the family. Whether this be the cause or not it is difficult to state definitely, but there has been a distinct lessening of the competition for small farms in Wales, and several holdings are now vacant.

Fifth, lack of co-ordinated effort. Wales is a land of small holdings; many of the holdings are so small that they are nothing better than out-door relief. When the holder is in the heart of the country, far from the towns or from any industrial centre, he has a difficulty in finding a market for his goods. The large farmer is better off, especially if he be near an industrial centre. He is better able than the small individual cultivator to meet commercial combinations in his own country or from abroad. Shrinkage in prices means less to the big than the small cultivator working in solitary individualism. And how many of them are in Wales! How miserable they look! How poor they are! They buy and sell their produce always at a disadvantage; their table is bare and rough, and holidays are luxuries that

seldom, if ever, come their way. No wonder their children, goaded by the straitened circumstances of the home, abandon every thought of farming as a life-work. The railway companies do not regard these small individual cultivators as worth a moment's consideration. They cannot select a market or fix their prices, and have to fight alone and unaided for a bare and miserable existence. They cannot economise in the cost of production; they have to buy in retail and pay the highest prices for seeds, feeding stuffs, and other necessaries; if they transport, they have to transport at high, even ruinous, rates. In brief, they are the victims of every existing system. As to the distribution of their produce, they are hopelessly handicapped. When they go to the middleman, it is like going to a Jew; if they do not go to the middleman, they waste their time on a business that they do not understand. Even when they can distribute, they do so at a disadvantage, for the reason that they cannot produce in bulk; what contracts they can make are trivial and scattered. The consignments are so small and so irregular that the railway companies cannot be expected to give them any special consideration.

What is needed to make farming an economic asset is to find some suitable method of buying requisites and selling the produce. Co-operation could effect this, for co-operation would collect, grade, pack, form contracts, sell, and sell to an advantage in markets of its own. While this is being done for the farmer, he can be devoting his time to that part of the business which he understands best. To secure the benefits of co-operation the farmer would need no capital, and could obtain credit on personal security at the lowest terms.

The scope of Welsh agriculture, as I have already explained, must be limited; but if better organised, the yield would be far greater. To provide land and install tenants in an isolated mountainous country, and leave them to their fate, is cruelty; the glamour soon passes. By means of co-operation their prospects could be greatly improved. The strength of the foreigner lies in organisation, not in the inherent weakness of Welsh soil. It is partly through

organisation that the foreigner has been able to make England and Wales the dumping ground for all sorts of seeds and food-stuffs, as he has made it the dumping ground for foreign steel bars. German and American manufacturers have now made it quite clear that they are prepared to sell steel bars at least 5s. a ton less than English manufacturers in order to capture the trade of this country.

Surely what is possible in Ireland and in small Continental countries should be possible in Wales and in England. Belgium and Denmark, not to mention Germany, have adopted the co-operative system both for buying and selling. In those countries credit banks have been established by means of which small-holders may obtain the use of money at low rates of interest. Such methods have been tried in a tentative way in England and on a wider scale in Ireland. It has been stated that Lord Carrington is determined upon a development of credit banks in England. The system is in operation in India and under conditions closely resembling those of small-holders in this country. There are several credit-bank systems, but, so far as agriculture is concerned, the favourite one is the Raiffeisen. A Raiffeisen bank operates over a very limited area. Those who receive credit from it know each other and each other's character and circumstances. They are all pledged for the credit extended to each. Very often the money to start with is found by the squire, or other local magnate, who accepts the combined credit of all the members, and may or may not stipulate for interest on his money. A number of these small local banks combine round a central local bank, and these central local banks round a national central bank. Members may deposit in, as well as obtain loans from, the local banks. If there be more money at one place than is needed there, it is available through the central banks for use elsewhere. In Prussia there is a State-endowed central co-operative bank.

I quote one concrete example—Welsh example—of what co-ordinated effort can do. I refer to the county of Carmarthenshire. It has secured for the cultivators articles of the highest quality at a reduction of ten to fifteen per cent. in the price of feeding-stuffs, twenty to thirty per cent. in

the price of seeds, thirty to forty per cent. in the cost of artificial manures. Co-operation is essential to agricultural property to the small man, whether he be occupier or owner.

Sixth, foreign competition. The fact that agriculture is the smallest, is no reason why it should be the most neglected, of Welsh industries. Welsh farmers have hitherto been content with the crumbs that fall from the foreigner's table. They have witnessed the dumping of competing produce from other countries without any effort being made to compel the foreigner to contribute a fair, proportionate share to the revenue of this country in return for the market which it obtains. South Wales has, of late years, been a notorious dumping ground not only for American steel but for the most worthless seeds and manures that the most unscrupulous merchants can collect. The Welsh farmer has been trying to live on a theory—Free Trade theory; but it is beginning to dawn upon him that his theory does not pay his rates and taxes, nor promises him, except in words, any prospect of improvement for the future. Broadly speaking, when Free Trade was introduced and British agriculture left unprotected from the competition (both fair and unfair) of the world, burdens which were placed upon agricultural land when it was better able to bear them were not removed, and these burdens have increased even as the competition from abroad has become keener and keener. Welsh agriculturists have had to share the general burden. To-day I can find many once prosperous farmers who are in a state of poverty absolutely through no fault of their own. Their sons, in many cases, have been driven from their native land owing to their almost constantly seeing examples of the ruin which comes to many of those who till the land, and the hard and constant struggle which even the successful ones have to make for a living as farmers. With the labourers the matter has been even worse. Unemployment and irregular wages are the curse of the country districts, and they must continue until it is made possible to cultivate the land at a fair profit. To do this, the burdens on agricultural land must be lightened. A scientific system of tariff would lighten them, for it would protect the home market, which naturally would be an

enormous advantage. It would give farmers a *better* market. Even if the cost of imported machinery went up, the margin of advantage would be such that it would not affect him. No solution can be effective, lasting, and truly beneficial which does not give the farmer, large holder or small, protection against the overwhelming competition of the outside agricultural world.

The State Insurance Bill of Mr. Lloyd-George will increase rather than lighten the burdens of Welsh agriculturists. There has been a striking change in public sentiment as to the merits of the measure, and the more it is studied the less fair it seems. It is undergoing such a process of reconstruction in Committee, that no one can foresee the form in which the Bill will finally emerge. The Chancellor's legislative ambition has overleapt itself. This is a measure that ought to be in the hands of the President of the Board of Trade, or the President of the Local Government Board, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer holding a watching brief for the Treasury. It is a highly dangerous practice for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to have complete control of a scheme that starts with a burden of £60,000,000 upon it from the beginning, and to have no one to check his disbursement, especially with regard to a project in which the Chancellor himself is abnormally interested. The Bill in its original shape was so chaotic and inequitable that those who were carried away with the glamour of the idea of State insurance, and who did not take the trouble to understand its provisions, may be incredulous. There is no systematic adjustment of payment to means of payment; there is no efficient adjustment of benefits either to actual contributions or to necessity. The poorest of the wage-earning class, those whose employment is irregular and whose wages are low, stand to receive little or no benefit from the scheme. It may appear a surprising conclusion which critics not unfriendly to the Chancellor have formed, but it is warranted by facts, namely, "that a great proportion of the working men will never benefit under the scheme."

It is not possible to justify the fresh burden that the scheme proposes to lay on the agricultural section of the community, unless Mr. George is prepared to say that the

amenities of rural life and domestic service require that those who enjoy them should assist in the preferential treatment of urban labourers, and especially of the well-to-do workmen who are likely to benefit most by the Bill. The Irish Nationalists are resolved that the Irish peasant shall not be subjected to the rates appropriate to the city dweller, and one reason is that he is all round less liable to illness. If the Irish get their way, as they are likely to, it will render the Bill still more unjust to Welsh, Scottish, and English agriculturists.

This is a question in which the interests of farmer and farm servant are more or less identical, to this extent at all events, that both will be called upon to make up deficiencies in the finance of the scheme caused by the extra risks in health and accidents of the town dweller. It is well known that insurance companies have extra premiums for extra risks both in accident and life policies, and why should the same policy not hold good under this Bill to the extent of putting agriculture under a different schedule of contribution? The life of a farm servant is an exceedingly healthy one. No doubt he is exposed to all weathers, but to this he becomes hardened, and it is seldom he is off work, and as for malingering, it is almost unknown.

Mr. George has not been able to deny that farm servants are especially healthy as a class, but he has made a point of the singular fact that low mortality in a class has been found alongside a relatively high ratio of sickness. That fact is prominently disclosed in the report of an investigation by the Oddfellows' Manchester Unity Friendly Society, from which obviously the Chancellor has drawn inspiration. To legislate on abstract principles is not a safe political maxim. If he comes down to actual figures, he will find that the report in question shows clearly that the percentage of actual weeks of sickness to expected weeks, in the case of rural employés, was, on the average, only 118, whereas in the case of many other classes the average was found to run from 142 to 230. The report further shows that the annual premiums required to secure £1 per week during the first fifty-two weeks of sickness, and 10s. per week during the remainder of sickness,

£20 on death, and £10 on the death of the member's first wife, is, in the case of rural labourers, from 6s. to 8s. per year less than for other classes. Taking it then that farm servants are an exceptionally healthy class, and that the Chancellor, for some reason or other, has difficulty in accepting reduced contributions, it is surely equitable that there should be a separate agricultural class, in order to ensure that their contributions shall be conserved for their own benefit, and that any surplus shall not be appropriated for the benefit of town workers. If this be not arranged, farm workers would inevitably be put in a most unfair position under the Bill. In the first place, it being admitted that they are specially healthy, it cannot be denied that they will be contributing more in proportion to the benefits than other classes. It is said that this measure is not to be converted into a benevolent scheme, but unless the Chancellor is prepared to place farm servants in a class by themselves, he will be countenancing that worst form of benevolence which would be involved in giving benefit to the less healthy and higher paid town employés at the expense of the healthier and lower paid rural employés.

It is not surprising to those who understand the mental temperament of the Welsh farmer and farm servant, to find them utterly oblivious of the fact that they are about to be involved in a heavy expenditure without a corresponding benefit. Such a complicated measure they do not and could not understand, and no responsible politician seeks to explain it to them. If any one did endeavour to do so on critical and practical lines, he would find the whole ground pre-empted against him on political considerations. It is a state of sublime unconsciousness which results from narrowness and tradition, and which, to all appearances, is likely to be permanent. Whatever the local political or religious oracle advises, that the farmer does; he will follow where he is led, and believe anything he is told. To seek to enlighten or to change his opinions is a hopeless task. The man who could succeed in correcting the insular traits of mind so characteristic of the Welsh farming community, and who could show the way to give them greater capacity to fathom the currents of public life, and endow them with a more vigorous power of

volition, would confer a real and lasting service upon a class that has been sorely neglected, and that has genuine claims upon our sympathy and consideration.

It is important that immediate steps should be taken to organise Welsh farming interests by the establishment of agricultural institutes in each county, where the sons of small farmers who show any inclination for life on the land would obtain the requisite training after they leave the elementary or secondary schools. The advanced colleges are unsuitable for such boys. There is no reason for anticipating that farmers, if properly approached and enlightened on the matter, would refuse to avail themselves of the benefits of such institutes. Such schools would serve two purposes. First, they would relieve our Welsh universities of a superfluous, if not an undesirable, class of students, namely, those who only require a smattering of general knowledge. Their presence makes it necessary for the University colleges to do a great deal of elementary work, which is not within the proper function of a university. Second, such institutes, if established, would enable boys to perfect their general education, and would provide for them a continuous course of instruction in agriculture, both practical and theoretical, including the management of stock, dairying, poultry, fruit culture, horticulture, the construction and repair of agricultural machinery combined with elementary mechanics, carpentry, farriery, simple farm accounts, the gathering, grading, and packing of produce for the market. Boys trained in such institutes would become skilled labourers, gardeners, and small-holders. One school in each county would be better than one central school or college for the whole of Wales, for the reason that they would be more accessible, would be better supported financially, and would obviate the necessity for an acrid discussion as to the various local claims for the location of one central institution. This difficulty has already been experienced with the establishment of the Welsh National Library. The masses of the people in the various counties do not take the interest that they should in the Library for these very reasons.

Part III.—The Small Holdings Act

My observations in the foregoing section must not be interpreted as implying that tenancy is a failure. It is true that the conditions, legislative and political, that favoured the creation of large estates have disappeared, but the present unsatisfactory condition of Welsh tenure is no proof that large farming is an evil, and that large estates should be divided up and replaced by small ownership. There is still room for tenancy and ownership, for large and small farms. Tenancy is often the most convenient form of tenure. There are classes of rural industry for which farming on a large scale is essential. But social and economic conditions have changed, and certain modifications of the present system are necessary to meet fresh exigencies.

One thing is clear: the communal form of tenancy, introduced by the Small Holdings Act of 1892, has not been successful in so far as its application to Wales is concerned. The sincerity of Lord Carrington, and of those who are associated with him, is beyond dispute, and, generally speaking, there are some gratifying results. The difficulty in Wales is, that it is already a country of small holdings. Obstacles have arisen that were not anticipated. Applicants for the most part in Wales appear to be under the impression that they can select the very best pasture fields a tenant-farmer possesses, and, by persisting in their demands, compel the landowner and himself to surrender. It is claimed that the object of the Act is to put men back on the land. What kind of men? Novices in the persons of tradesmen, retired colliers, contractors, and men who occupy large houses and who are already in good positions? It seems as if matters are drifting, in Wales, in that direction. In such cases it becomes a convenient way to arrange a mortgage on easy terms. Some of the Welsh County Councils are in a fair way of becoming the mortgagees for the whole county. The richer the tenant, we are told, the greater the security of the County Council. But such a policy is entirely apart from the spirit of the Act, and is a gross violation of its main purpose. Some means will have to be adopted to

provide working capital for the small agriculturists, and to ensure the success of their industry. But speculators should not be assisted. These and other abuses go to show that while the provision of allotments very limited in area might be left to the discretion of County Councils, the direction of the scheme in its bearing upon larger farms, national in nature, should be in the hands of a central authority entirely free from local prejudices.

It is a striking fact that in Wales there is practically no demand for land in those parts that are not easy of access. The men who apply expect the best field, adjacent to a good road, and within easy reach of a town. Then the fact that the county agent, such as in Cardiganshire for instance, is paid on the commission principle, might be a direct incentive to him to force the pace, for the more small-holders he places on the land the higher his remuneration. Thus we find that the land is being gradually saddled with amateur dabblers in agriculture. The serious part of the matter is, that the ratepayers have to suffer for their blunders. When the recovery of the rent is impracticable, the County Council has to accept a surrender of the tenancy, but the loss to the land and to the ratepayers still stands to be made good. The Earl of Carrington says that in such cases—and there are many of them—it was possible the Board of Agriculture would share *part* of the loss with the County Council. (The italics are mine.) There are cases when losses have been incurred through no fault of the holder—providential causes. In such circumstances the County Council would not be likely to *force* payment of the rent, or to demand a surrender of the tenancy. The Board of Agriculture has not a reserve fund for the purpose of assisting the County Council in the remission or reduction of the rents due. It is a matter that rests with the County Councils. They have the power to *give time* for payment, but they are not legally entitled to assist such tenants by making direct contributions towards their losses. But the ratepayers suffer all the same when the rents can be recovered only in part or not at all.

There has been such a dearth of applicants for small holdings in some of the Welsh counties that the County

Councils have been obliged to advertise for tenants—advertise for weeks—and to very little purpose. This is due to the shiftless policy of rushing to buy land for small holdings before ascertaining whether there is any real demand for them in the district, and to what extent. At Aberayron, in the county of Cardigan, land was acquired to meet a "demand" for small holdings. When the land was acquired, many of the prospective small-holders did not come forward, and the local committee found itself in a difficulty. But, fortunately, the farmer who had been deprived of land in order to supply these applicants, on discovering the position of affairs, came forward and took the now vacant land off their hands. Since then, however, what appear to be *bona-fide* applications have been made for the land again, and the local committee had either to refuse to provide it or give the farmer who rescued them from an awkward predicament notice to quit. The matter was referred to the county committee. This authority referred the matter back to the local committee. The Board of Agriculture then intervened and advised to the effect that, as the farmer in question now farms (as he did formerly) five hundred or six hundred acres, he cannot be held to be a small-holder, and the committee should not have accepted his offer. This case is typical. There are cases of undoubted hardships as well as cases of evasions of the purposes of the original Act.

Among the causes that have prevented the effective working of the Act are the following: (1) Small-holders are themselves but tenants. (2) A large proportion of the country is mountain land and entirely unsuited for small holdings. (3) The majority of the County Councils are under the control of doctrinaire politico-agriculturists who are exploiting the Act for party purposes. (4) The refusal of the Board of Agriculture to sanction the sum agreed upon by the County Council as the price the Council was prepared to pay at a sale by auction, on the ground that the sum was excessive. This, of course, may be capable of solution. (5) So many of the applicants for holdings are not *bona-fide* agricultural labourers. (6) The unwise action of so many County Councils in rushing forward their purchase before

ascertaining the extent of demand existing in the neighbourhood for holdings, and their consequent inability to let the land. (7) The number of applicants who refuse to take the holdings offered them, when they are made aware of the rental which the County Council claims that it is obliged to charge so as to prevent losses. (8) Purchasers come into the market prepared to buy land at a price that will give them a much smaller return on their outlay than the Council are compelled to obtain in order to avoid incurring a loss. (9) The land in the neighbourhood of the large towns (where the chief demand for small holdings exists) has a potential value for building purposes, with the result that the purchase price is prohibitive, while leasing is undesirable, as the tenants would have no security of tenure. (10) The inability of County Councils, in some cases, to acquire land through a sort of fictitious sub-division of holdings. (11) The fear, and not without reason, that the existing security of small-holders is in danger through the admitted hostility of the Welsh tenant-farmers as a class to the Small Holdings Act. (12) The want of facilities for tenants to become owners, and which, in the judgment of the majority of the best informed men, will end in disaster to the small holdings scheme.

The last mentioned difficulty strikes at the heart of the problem. The typical Welsh agriculturist prefers ownership to tenancy. Many small-holders have become tenants rather than have no land at all. More small holdings would be created if would-be small-holders received reasonable facilities for becoming owners. Those who suggest that there is no desire for purchase among would-be holders and tenant-farmers in Wales, either have no personal knowledge of the facts of the case, or are actuated by motives of political expediency. This is a matter that ought not to be considered or treated on party lines. The Welsh farmer should not be made a pawn in the political game. Any one who cares to canvass the real feelings of Welsh tenant-farmers, will find that ninety-five per cent. of them would express a preference for ownership. They cannot get ownership, and they know they cannot under existing conditions; they, therefore, accept the next best thing.

The Welsh farmer is a very unsophisticated person, his patience is often but another name for stupidity. He looks on with sublime resignation, mingled with amazement, at the Irish farmer, with the active co-operation of his own county member, and his own party, extorting his millions out of the British Exchequer for agricultural purposes, while he himself gets nothing, except a gentle reminder from the pulpit that the peacemakers are the men who are destined to inherit the earth. When election time comes, he is honoured with a *hurried* visit from the member—for he is a very busy man—who knowing his "hog" so well, lavishes platitudes and perorations upon him, and eulogises the virtues of the sturdy and heroic Welsh peasant, and the unparalleled glory and achievements of "gallant little Wales." It is not surprising that the Irish have a secret contempt for the Welsh, and only use the official new-born alliance for purposes that are entirely Irish. The situation, undoubtedly, does appeal to their lively sense of humour. The Welsh farmer needs to be trained to face a difficulty instead of looking round it, even when the difficulty lies in himself and in those so-called leaders who mislead and beguile him in order to get his vote.

An unworthy attempt has been made to attribute the failure of the Small Holdings Act to the *alleged* obstructive attitude of a few Welsh landlords, because it affects their pocket, which it does not. The Welsh landlords, as a class, are humane, and have been conspicuous in deeds of unobtrusive charity. The average Welsh farmer, though a Liberal in politics, would rather be a tenant at will to a good Welsh landlord—and there are many of them—than a perpetual tenant of the County Council. For this reason the countryside is not a congenial soil for Socialism. The farmer knows better than the political demagogue the real value of a considerate landlord. He does not believe in perpetual tenancy under the County Council; he prefers land that he may call his own. But if he is to have a landlord, he would prefer the old one, for he knows that he can expect generous treatment when days of adversity come upon him. The State is a bad and a hard landlord; it will insist upon its rights and the fulfilment of contracts.

Communal purchase and occupation, State landlordism, and perpetual tenancy, will not restore the lost balance and repeople the land. In actual ownership alone consists that full sense of security, incentive, and responsibility which calls forth a man's highest energies. The present Radical Government has confessed by its Land Purchase Bill that ownership is the sole remedy for the agrarian evils of Ireland. In Ireland the small man had opportunities of becoming a tenant which, it is said, are denied to him in England and Wales; also the Irish tenant was in a better position. The Act of 1881 and its successors gave him what was practically perpetuity of tenure; it also gave him adjustable rents and freedom of sale. He was *virtually* an owner, but because he was not *actually* the owner, the system was changed at the request of Irishmen. This surrender to Irish opinion and to Irish desires is a most remarkable thing, when considered in the light of the constant suppression of Welsh and English opinion. The system of tenancy under the Small Holdings Act is far more disadvantageous to the Welsh and English tenant than the system which the Radical Government says was "so disastrous" to Ireland, and for which they substituted the Land Purchase Bill. Probably the explanation is to be found in the convenient theory that the Irish people themselves best know what is good for them, and that what they ask for must be given them, but that the Welsh and English people are so slow-witted that they really don't know what they need or what they want.

When the County Council tenant has paid up the sinking fund, which defrays the purchase of the land, the land should become his own property and no longer belong to the County Council. He may, even before that, desire to purchase outright the land which he holds; in that case the amount he has already paid into the sinking fund (which is the actual price of the land spread over a term of years) should be credited to him as part of the purchase money. If it be contended that the sinking fund is only a fair return to the Council for pledging its credit, the obvious answer is, that the County Council gets the land into the bargain and continues to charge rent for it after the tenant has paid for it. If, again,

it be argued that the interests of the ratepayer must be safeguarded, it is sufficient to say that no interests, be they those of ratepayers or not, can justify such an inequitable and iniquitous transaction. Either the sinking fund which purchases the land ought to come out of the rates, in which case the County Council would have a perfect right to the ownership of the land, or the tenant who pays it ought to acquire by its payment the freehold of his holding. A tenant does so acquire the freehold of his holding in Ireland, and why should not the State do for the Welsh tenant-holder what it has done for that favoured individual—the Irish tenant-farmer? To palm off the injustice by pleading that there is no demand in Wales for purchase is to contravene the real facts of the situation. There is a demand; and wherever one meets with an indisposition to purchase, it is due, and due solely, to the fact that the terms of purchase are such as a poor man cannot comply with. Let the same treatment be meted out to the Welsh as to the Irish small-holder, and the same conditions be placed within his reach, then the Government will soon discover that the demand for the purchase of small holdings will become brisk enough.

It is with regret one has to say it, but it is quite evident that the Small Holdings Act—so excellent in its intentions—has not been, and cannot be, a success in Wales. Even those who hailed it as the one great panacea, now find how slight a connection there is between small holdings and rural depression and depopulation. The ordinary tenant-farmers, who are the backbone of the agricultural community, are beginning to feel that their just interests and their security of tenure are being seriously threatened by those who hold a special brief for the small-holder. The political extremists who have, during the past fifteen or twenty years, been deluding the tenant-farmers by the cry that the land is too much the pleasure ground of the rich, have been the instruments in creating an entirely wrong impression of rural economy. They have held and preached the false idea that greater value results from the products of a small holding than from a large holding, forgetting, or not knowing, that the same economic laws prevail in both cases. The testing of their theories is

fast putting an end to their hallucination. To expend public money recklessly, simply to create small holdings, is a gross maladministration. No Committee ought to give an order, and no County Council ought to sanction an order, for the creation of small holdings, unless there is ample evidence that the constitution of such holdings would lead to more beneficial use of the land and more employment of labour on the land.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION PROBLEM

Elementary Education

MANY changes of opinion and policy have affected the question of education since 1847, the time when elementary education began to convulse the Principality. There are, however, two important facts that have, meanwhile, been amply demonstrated, namely, the justice and expediency of exceptional treatment for Wales, and the ability of Welshmen to hold their own in the field of learning when given equal advantages with their English competitors. Even if space permitted, it would serve no useful purpose to detail the prolonged controversies of that and subsequent periods. Then, as now, the religious aspect constituted the main difficulty. "I will now give my reasons," said the late Professor W. Morgan, of Carmarthen, the father of Judge Lloyd Morgan, in his address to the members of the Carmarthen School Board, "for objecting to the introduction of religious teaching into elementary schools. I object because the public schoolmaster is not the proper teacher, the day-school is not the proper place, and the State is not the proper paymaster." Then there was the question of State-aided education. The principle was accepted by Churchmen, but Nonconformists were sharply divided among themselves. Those of them whose attachment to Nonconformity was stronger than their attachment to education violently opposed it; while those whose attachment to education was stronger than their attachment to Nonconformity strongly advocated it.

The misery and ignorance of the children were deplorable; so were the misery and ignorance of the masses of the people. The

schoolmasters that were available were bankrupt tradesmen, fraudulent excisemen, sailors, soldiers, and cattle-drovers who had picked up a little English in foreign ports. Dean Cotton, who taught himself, and who established by private subscription an elementary school in almost every parish of the Diocese of Bangor, compared some of the native teachers to "teapots, which could make good tea, but could not pour it." Not only was there a lamentable lack of duly qualified teachers, but of buildings suitable for teaching purposes. Schools were held in churches, chapels, and dilapidated houses, without fire, ventilation, or any conveniences. The greater part of the children had never heard or uttered a word of English, except what they heard and tried to utter within the walls of the schools. They had to walk two, three, or four miles over the hills in stormy weather, without any human being to greet them or a place of shelter on the way, and were obliged to stand or sit all day in their wet clothes, with their little ration of bread and butter in their pocket. Such were the difficulties that Welsh children in Wild Wales had to encounter in pursuit of knowledge during the earlier part of the reign of Queen Victoria; such was the state of things when Nonconformists were disputing with Churchmen as to the wisdom of giving religious instruction in the only schools that were available, and arguing among themselves over theoretical logic, and whether it was correct in principle to accept State-aided education.

The Circulating Schools had ceased to exist in 1779 pending a Chancery suit respecting the funds which Griffith Jones and Madam Bevan had bequeathed for the carrying on of the schools. The charity came again into operation in 1809, yielding an annual income of £944, 12s. It has since been worked under a scheme embodied in an order of the Lord Chancellor harmonising with the conditions of the original trust. The Circulating Schools were, to all intents and purposes, National Schools; that is, they were conducted on the same principles as those of the "National Society for Educating the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England," which was founded in 1811. National Schools are so designated because they are founded on the principles of that Society, and are assisted by its funds for that purpose. Those principles are, that there can be no proper education that is not co-ordinated with religious instruction and definite religious

belief. Large numbers of Nonconformist children were educated in the National Schools, many of them receiving in that way their first religious impressions. Notably among them may be mentioned the late Rev. Owen Thomas, D.D. (the celebrated Welsh Methodist minister), and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Before 1827 the Church had 106 schools in North Wales, and before 1847 it had 279, where 18,732 children were trained. In South Wales the Church had 312 schools before the year 1847, with 16,868 children. The increase was such that by 1902 they numbered 677, in which 91,605 children were being educated. Under the Act of 1902 the managers of the National Schools were relieved from the cost of secular education, the Church lending its buildings to the education authorities for secular education, the Church being granted permission to impart religious instruction in them during school hours. The Church schools had been maintained by voluntary subscriptions and the Government grant, but the managers found it difficult to keep up with the great increase in the cost of education occasioned by the introduction of School Boards in 1870, and which made rapid headway throughout the whole of Wales. The cost per scholar in the National Schools for Wales in 1902 amounted to £2, 6s. 9d. The cost per scholar in the Board Schools, which drew extensively from the rates, for the same year, was £2, 15s. 9d. for Wales.

In 1808, three years before the National School Society was founded in 1811, "The British and Foreign School Society for the Teaching of the Children of the Poorer Classes, and especially with a view of giving the whole Population of England Scriptural Education," was formed through the efforts of Joseph Lancaster. This society established schools in Wales which were in operation before the National Schools came into existence. Dr. Bell, who came into prominence in connection with the National School Society, did not look favourably upon the British and Foreign School Society. He characterised the idea of teaching the poorer children to read and write, and to impart general knowledge to them, as "Utopian." Secular education was not held in high esteem in those days, being calculated, it was thought, to lead to such evils as early marriages and general social discontent. In 1806 Archdeacon Denbury, in a charge to his clergy, said "that Lancaster could not be compared except

to Julian the Apostate," that "his scheme was nothing but wild, unreasonable, and anti-Christian," and "that it was not fit to answer any purpose but to make the great body of the people one mass of Deism." Earl Russell, a good Churchman, writing in 1872, said: "The clergy of those days, even the liberal clergy, were generally opposed to the education of the poor." With regard to the great aim of the British and Foreign School Society, he wrote: "One would have thought that such a simple and good object as to teach the people to read and write, and understand the Bible, if it should not have a warm support, would not meet with any opposition." Dr. Bell looked with great disfavour upon the efforts that were being made to supply education outside of the Church. His opposition was due, chiefly, to the fact that he thought it was the function of the Church to provide whatever education the children needed. It was a mistaken policy, as subsequent events proved. Had the Church authorities co-operated with the efforts that were made outside the Church, the gain, even to the Church herself, would have been great.

In 1835 the Government commenced to give grants towards the building of schools; the amount rapidly increased, and was extended to the payment of teachers and the supply of school apparatus. As Nonconformists objected to State-aided education, the spread of the British Schools, which were under Government inspection, was comparatively slow, the offer of grants for building purposes and the upkeep of the teaching staff having been declined on "conscientious" ground. Some years later, seeing the greater progress of the National Schools, which were in receipt of Government grants, the Nonconformists changed their attitude and expressed their readiness to accept Government aid. But, between 1835 and 1845, a large number of districts had been amply supplied with National Schools, and the Government consequently refused grants for establishing British Schools in the same districts. Nonconformists of more modern times have unjustly used this fact as indicating preferential treatment for Churchmen over Nonconformists, and have built upon it a superstructure of religious and political grievance, which, historically, is quite unwarrantable. This sentiment of grievance has had a marked effect on the fortunes of the voluntary schools in Wales and in the country generally. In

answer to questions recently addressed to him in the House of Commons, Mr. Runciman stated that between August 1, 1903, and March 14, 1911, the number of such schools closed was 611, of which 452 belonged to the Church of England, 50 to Wesleyans, and 39 to Roman Catholics. The number of schools transferred to local authorities was as follows: From August 1, 1903, to March 31, 1911, Church of England 326, Wesleyans 140.

The inability of Nonconformists to obtain the grants they asked for, and which they, in the first instance, declined, increased their hostility to the National Schools and the Church. The difficulty was accentuated by the fact that at that time no conscience clause was in force in the National Schools, all the scholars, Church and Nonconformist alike, being required to learn the Church Catechism, and to attend Church and the Church Sunday School. This rule was rigidly enforced, and there is clear evidence that in some districts failure to comply was followed by corporal punishment. The Bible was read in the British School, but no catechism, distinctive of any religious denomination, was taught. Thus it was that the National or Church Schools greatly preponderated, even in those districts where Nonconformists were in the majority, the management being, as it is natural to suppose, in the hands of Churchmen. Mr. Bowstead, a Government Inspector, himself an English Churchman, commented upon this anomaly in his report to the Government in 1855, and recommended the establishment of British Undenominational Schools, as being the most suitable for Wales on the ground that it was "a land of Dissenters." The Inspector's report was severely criticised by Bishop Thirlwall, who denounced the statements as "absurd exaggerations," and an injustice to the Nonconformists themselves, who, he alleged, were as a body quite satisfied with the existing state of things. Mr. Bowstead circularised Nonconformists on the matter, with the result that he received hundreds of letters and resolutions endorsing the accuracy of his report. The late Professor William Morgan, of Carmarthen, entered into personal correspondence with the Bishop, relative to his strictures upon Mr. Bowstead, which strictures the Bishop had caused to be printed and circulated throughout his diocese. This correspondence is given in detail in the Life of Professor

Morgan by his son, now Judge Lloyd Morgan, and it shows the state of the question in and prior to the year 1855.

The history of Welsh elementary education is not covered by the National School Society or by the British and Foreign School Society. The story of Welsh education during the nineteenth century cannot be told as a whole, unless we include what was done by the South Wales Education Committee, established by the Nonconformists in April 1845. Unfortunately the part played by this Committee has been, for the most part, left in obscurity. Much was done by the members of this Committee, between 1843 and 1853, to promote elementary education; it was done without grants or any pecuniary support from wealthy laymen, as was the case with the National Schools which were founded in 1811. One of the most devoted and conspicuous members of the Committee was the late Rev. David Rees, Independent minister, Llanelly, South Wales.

The event which gave birth and impulse to the movement was the "Factory and Education Bill," which was introduced by Sir James Graham, with the consent of both political parties in the State, in 1843. The Bill was regarded by Nonconformists as an attempt to place elementary education under the supreme control of the Church. The contention was that it perpetuated the policy, which had been in vogue since 1835, of administering education through the two rival Societies, and that it would create an enormous vested interest, which has always been the bane of all educational reform. What was an accident in 1835, Nonconformists now thought was to be the deliberate policy of the State. The Bill was withdrawn, but it served to accentuate the differences already existing between Church and Nonconformity, and gave an impetus to the campaign against the union of Church and State, and helped to prepare the way for the Act of 1870.

The Committee, of which the Revs. David Rees, Llanelly, D. Rhys Stephen, Newport, and J. Pratten, Brecon, acted as secretaries, was abandoned in 1853. But it did something—indeed, much—for Welsh education. Most, if not all, of the educational movements of those times were experimental, and their "failure" or "success" depends upon the way they are regarded. It was a political movement, but politics and education and even sectarianism in education in Wales are so inter-

laced that they cannot be separated. Pure ideals of education are, as yet, foreign to the Principality. What did the South Wales Committee accomplish during its brief record of eight years? On April 10 and 11, 1845, following upon the introduction of Sir James Graham's Bill, a Nonconformist Conference was held at Llandovery, at the suggestion of Henry Richard, M.P., who had, the previous year, been investigating the educational situation in South Wales on behalf of the English Congregational Union. It was the first of a series of such conferences. The South Wales Committee, which was already in existence, was deputed to carry out the decisions of the Conference, namely, to organise a campaign for the erection of schools in every district throughout South Wales. It has been thought that all the credit for the British Schools in Wales belongs to the British and Foreign School Society. The majority of them were built through the efforts of the South Wales Education Committee, which began operations in 1843, and which was recognised by the Nonconformist Conference at Llandovery.

On October 1, 1846, the House of Commons appointed a Commission at the instance of Mr. William Williams, M.P. for Coventry, a native of Llanpumsaint, Carmarthenshire, who did much in conjunction with Kilsby Jones for Welsh education. The object of the Commission was to inquire into the state of education in Wales. They conducted their inquiry between the middle of October 1846 and the end of the summer of 1847. The Report of the Commissioners became known among the Welsh as *The Treason of the Blue Books* (*Brâd y Llyfrau Gleision*), owing to its reflection upon the moral condition of the Welsh. It was hotly resented, but it did much good ultimately.

According to the Report of this Government Commission, published at the end of 1847, there were at the beginning of 1847 no less than 29 British Schools in South Wales. There were also 93 schools which the Commissioners designated as "Dissenting Schools," but which were practically of the same class. So were also a large number of the 583 private schools referred to by the Commissioners. Between three and four hundred of these schools were opened from 1844 to 1847. The majority of them were erected mainly through the efforts

and under the impulse of the Nonconformist Education Committee of 1843–5.

It was also felt that there was an educational want which the British and Foreign School Society had failed to supply, namely, a Normal School for the training of teachers. It was decided at the Llandovery Conference to take immediate steps in that direction. A Normal School was opened at Brecon on January 1, 1846, Dr. Evan Davies becoming its first Principal. Among the founders of this College was the Rev. Henry Griffiths, of Brecon. Shortly afterwards a Model Practising School was started in connection with it. The College was removed to Swansea in the early part of 1849, and it was finally transformed into the Swansea Training College for Women Teachers. To know the story of this College is to know an interesting side of elementary education in Wales.

On August 26, 1843, the year in which the South Wales Education Committee was started, and in which the "Factory and Education Bill" of Sir James Graham was introduced, a letter was issued and circularised throughout Wales above the signature of Sir Hugh Owen, a man whose life looms largely in the history of education in Wales. His labours were practically confined to North Wales, and his great achievements were connected with Higher Education. The main purport of this letter was to initiate a movement for establishing British Schools in the Principality. His appeal met with hearty and general response. Through his intercession before the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, vigorous steps were taken in North Wales to establish British Schools. The Rev. John Phillips, Bangor, who was appointed as agent for North Wales, enlisted the sympathy of a large number of people. By March 17, 1845, he had addressed 150 public meetings on the subject, and had formed 80 Committees. Twelve schools had been established, in which about 1500 children received instruction. Twenty-four applications had been made to the Government for grants in aid of the buildings, and several schools were in process of erection.

Nothing was done through this movement in South Wales for a period of ten years, owing to the determined objections, as already stated, of the Nonconformists in the Southern parts to receiving State aid for educational purposes. The same diffi-

culty with regard to the training of teachers was felt in the North as had been felt, and already solved, in the South by the opening of the Normal College at Brecon in January 1846. Ten years later Mr. Forster and Sir Hugh Owen attended a Conference on Education held at Bangor, April 1856, when it was decided to establish a college for North Wales in order to secure the necessary supply of teachers for the British Schools of North Wales. It was decided that the college should be in Bangor, and it was completed July 1863. It was founded, and has since been conducted, on strictly unsectarian lines, and is open to all Wales. Since 1908 a new scheme has been in operation, under which the educational authorities of Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and Denbighshire have taken on the control and maintenance of the college, and students from these authorities have now the first claim for admission into it. Towards the founding of this college on unsectarian lines, under the original scheme, many Churchmen as well as Nonconformists contributed.

In 1849 Sir Hugh Owen addressed meetings of school teachers and educationists at Bangor, urging the importance of forming an educational link between the elementary schools and intermediate and higher education. His appeal led to the founding of a North Wales Scholarship Association, which awarded about three thousand pounds by way of competitive scholarships. The association was wound up in consequence of the passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act in 1889.

It should also be stated that there were many private and voluntary schools, partaking of the character of a private venture, in several parts of Wales. After the Reformation several grammar schools were established in accordance with the policy of the Reformed Church. But such schools were attended, almost entirely, by the sons of the town burgesses, who were more English than Welsh, and the sons of landowners of limited means. These schools did not appeal to the Welsh-speaking section of the population, who were practically confined to the country districts. The grammar schools were conducted under the auspices of the Church of England, having been founded chiefly by its adherents. They were closed, as were the English Universities, to the sons of Nonconformists on account of the imposition of religious tests. The growth and spread of Nonconformity led to the founding of denomina-

tional seminaries or colleges, in which young men destined for the Nonconformist ministry might be trained for the work. The first seminary was established at Brynllywarch, Glamorganshire, about 1659, and of which the institution now at Carmarthen, known as the Presbyterian College, is a continuation. In an interesting work published in 1886 by Mr. Walter D. Jeremy, M.A., entitled *The Presbyterian Board and Dr. Williams's Trust*, there is the following account of the history of the seminary. Its reliability is virtually vouched for by its incorporation in the *Life of Professor W. Morgan*, by his son, Judge Lloyd Morgan :—

"This institution, now at Carmarthen, and known as the Presbyterian College, is a continuation of the private academy of the Rev. Samuel Jones, M.A., sometime Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford, who, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, was ejected from his living in Glamorganshire. It was one of the first of the academies supported by the Presbyterian Board, and, inasmuch as it has had an almost continuous existence from about the year 1662 down to the present time, a brief outline of its history may be usefully given here.

"The academy had flourished about thirty years when the Board was formed in 1689. It was then located at Brynllywarch, Glamorganshire, and there it continued until 1697, the year of Mr. Jones's death. From 1697 to 1702 it was conducted at Abergavenny by the Rev. Roger Griffith, a young minister who had been educated by the Board at the University of Utrecht, but who afterwards conformed, much to the disgust of his fellow-student, Dr. Edmund Calamy. It is said that the academy was then taken charge of by the Rev. Rice Price, of Bridgend, the father of the celebrated Dr. Richard Price. It was next removed to Carmarthen, on account of the tutor, the Rev. William Evans, mentioned in Dr. Daniel Willlams's will, and there it remained for twenty-five years (1708–33). For the next seven years (1733–40) it was fixed at Llwynllwyd, in Breconshire, after which it was removed to Haverfordwest, and thence to Carmarthen in 1743, where it remained until 1783. During the latter part of the last-named period the tutors and students lived together under the same roof—a mansion called Rhydygors, about a mile out of the town, having been rented

by the Presbyterian Board for the purpose. The principal tutor, being unable to maintain discipline, resigned, and the academy was removed to Swansea, in order to be placed under the Rev. Solomon Harris, minister of the Presbyterian (Unitarian) chapel in High Street. There the students assembled for instruction in a house belonging to the chapel, and which has long since been converted into an inn called 'Peace and Plenty.' The institution was located at Swansea from 1784 to 1795, when it was removed back to Carmarthen, and there it has ever since flourished.

"In the last century a large number of the clergy of the Established Church were educated at this Academy. . . . Calvinistic Methodists and Baptists have sought admission there, and have been freely admitted.

"In 1842 the College was, by Royal Warrant, affiliated with the London University, and was thus the first institution in Wales from which students could graduate in arts."

The Brecon Memorial College, which it was decided to rebuild in 1862, and to be named the Congregational Memorial College, in commemoration of the ejection of the Two Thousand Puritan ministers by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, was originally an offshoot of Samuel Jones's Academy. Its existence as a separate institution dates from 1755, when it was established at Abergavenny. Its locality was changed from time to time, and it finally settled at Brecon in 1836. It is recognised by the University of Wales; its students receive their classical instruction at the Cardiff University, and take their theological course at Brecon. The Bangor Independent or Congregational College, formerly situated at Bala, is also recognised by the University of Wales.

To supply the need of Pembrokeshire, where the Baptists number about one-third of the population, it was decided to establish a seminary at Haverfordwest in 1839. Up to that time the Baptists of Wales had but one institution for the training of their ministers, the one located at Pontypool under the presidency of the Rev. Thomas Thomas, D.D., though it was originally located at Abergavenny, being founded in 1807. The president, the Rev. Micah Thomas, resigned about the time of the removal of the College to Pontypool in 1836, when

Dr. Thomas undertook the presidency at a salary of £140. The students then numbered seven, most of whom were older than Dr. Thomas, he being thirty-one years of age at the time. The college is now located at Cardiff under the presidency of the Rev. W. Edwards, D.D. There was an earlier Baptist seminary founded at Trosnant, near Pontypool, about the year 1732, which was carried on for many years. The Haverfordwest seminary was housed first of all in temporary quarters in Spring Gardens, each student being allowed £15 per annum, out of which he had to pay for board, books, clothing, etc. The institution was removed to Aberystwyth in 1894, where it was located until the year 1899, when it was amalgamated with the South Wales Baptist College at Cardiff and with the North Wales Baptist College at Bangor, the latter having been founded at Llangollen in 1862. In 1906 there were forty-eight students at the Baptist Colleges—twenty-eight at Cardiff and twenty at Bangor. The course of study is now much longer, so that with the great increase in the number of Baptist churches in Wales, a very much smaller number of College-trained men are available annually for the Baptist pastorate in Wales to-day. This means that considering the growth of educational facilities in Wales, a much larger proportion of untrained men enter the Baptist ministry in Wales now than fifty years ago. The Welsh Baptists had at that time and later on many well-trained men who were conspicuous for their ability, devotion, and eloquence.

The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Colleges of Bala and of Trevecca, the latter of which is now situated at Aberystwyth, are of later date, owing to the fact that the Methodist denomination only separated from the Church of England in 1811. The two Calvinistic Methodist Colleges are recognised by the University of Wales, also the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, and the St. David's College (Church of England), Lampeter. The latter has not been admitted into the Welsh University as a constituent college. The door is not closed finally; it can be included at any time by the Crown, as the Charter of the University of Wales shows:—

XXI. (5). "We reserve to Ourselves Our heirs and successors power from time to time to alter amend or add to these

presents by Supplemental Charter and in particular thereby to declare any other College or Colleges to be a Constituent College or Constituent Colleges of the University and if Our will be therein declared to be such the same will be binding on the University its Members and all persons concerned without more than the making of such Charter and the declaration of such will."

There has been considerable discussion as to the real reasons why Lampeter has not, as yet, been included; whether it is due to the policy of exclusiveness so characteristic of that college and its refusal to give up its privileges in order to receive larger ones, or to the hostility of the three constituent colleges and their supporters. Negotiations were carried on for a time, but they fell through. An important document bearing on these negotiations was submitted in a private and confidential memorial to a number of influential friends of Lampeter, asking for powers to grant the M.A. and D.D. I consider this document, which has since been made public, to be of sufficient importance to reproduce it in this connexion—

ST. DAVID'S COLLEGE, LAMPETER.

Reasons for Asking for Power to Grant the Full Degrees of M.A. and D.D.

1. In August 1893, the three Welsh University Colleges at Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff obtained a Charter making them the Constituent Colleges of the University of Wales.

2. In June 1893, St. David's College, Lampeter, petitioned her Majesty in Council for the addition of the College as a fourth Constituent College of the University.

3. The Committee of Privy Council refused to grant the petition.

4. On August 29, 1893, the House of Lords adopted the following resolution, proposed by the Bishop of Chester:—

> That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the assent of her Majesty be withheld from the Draft Charter of the proposed University of Wales until such portions of the aforesaid Draft Charter shall have been

omitted as prevent the inclusion of St. David's College, Lampeter, in the county of Cardigan, as a Constituent College of the aforesaid proposed University of Wales.

5. Her Majesty's Government ignored the resolution of the House of Lords, in virtue of the College Charters Act, 1871, and confined the University of Wales to the three Colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff.

6. The Board of St. David's College deems it undesirable to renew its petition for inclusion for the following reasons:—

(i) The former petition was opposed by the representatives of the three other Colleges.

(ii) It has reasons for believing that a renewal of its petition would be opposed by the Court of the University of Wales.

(iii) It believes that the main cause of this sustained opposition and hostility is to be sought for in the Church character of St. David's College.

(iv) In the face of this opposition it is almost certain that it would not contribute to the peaceful working of the University if the power in Article XXI. (5) of the Welsh University Charter were used to force St. David's College upon the University against its will.

(v) Admission, under the circumstances, would be almost necessarily injurious to St. David's College, because

(*a*) It could not rely upon the friendliness of the University Court or the sympathy of the University Senate, in the hands of which lies, by Charter, the complete power of control over all schemes of study, including theology;

(*b*) It would be quite within the power of an unfriendly Court and Senate to render practically impossible the teaching in St. David's College of the distinctive doctrines of the Church of England, according to its Charters of foundation.

7. The Board of St. David's College, in the light of its experience of 1893 and afterwards, cannot undertake to risk the efficiency of its theological teaching by forcing itself upon the University against the will of the Court and Senate.

8. St. David's College being, through no fault of its own, excluded, is likely to be injuriously affected by the creation of the new University, since it has only the power of conferring

the degrees of B.A. and B.D., while the other colleges jointly would have the power of conferring the higher degrees of M.A. and D.D.

9. The Board of St. David's College considers that the college is in equity entitled, in the face of changed circumstances, to ask for the power to grant the full degrees of M.A. and D.D., after first undergoing a revision of its present constitution, such revision to provide for the full control of examinations for the new degrees by examiners appointed by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The future of St. David's College is a matter that deeply concerns the Church in Wales, and indirectly Wales itself. The policy of aloofness adopted by a staff of professors so utterly out of touch with Welsh national life, and the policy pursued by those responsible for the government of the college, clearly show that they have not yet realised, or cannot give practical effect to that realisation, that conditions have vastly changed in Wales since the days when Lampeter stood alone as the pioneer of higher education. Not that the University Colleges at Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff as at present constituted represent the acme of Welsh educational needs and aspirations. There will be further developments, and the struggle will be more and more unequal for Lampeter as the development proceeds. Bishop Thirlwall warned Churchmen, and especially the clergy, not to be induced by their dislike of the School Boards to stand aloof from them, but to take their rightful and lawful place in the development of Welsh national education. The Church in Wales has paid dearly for its exclusive policy, not only in the matter of elementary education, but also of intermediate and higher education. Why should the Welsh clergy leave to Nonconformist ministers the whole guidance of Welsh religious and educational movements? Why not emulate the example of the late Dean Vaughan, Lord Aberdare, Dean Edwards of Bangor, and others to-day that might be named? They have as much right to be in Wales, and to take part in moulding the public life of Wales, as Nonconformists have. This policy chiefly accounts for the fact that St. David's College is "left in the dreary reaches of a lonely back-water." The majority of the clergy in Wales are still deprived of the

advantage of an arts course in the National University, and Lampeter is still condemned to the inferiority of seminarists, and is receding as a factor in the educational development of Wales. It has been the poorer for its policy. The Bishop of Llandaff has expressed his intention of ordaining graduates of the Welsh University when satisfied as to their theological training. His decision will have an important bearing upon the future of both the Church and of St. David's College. Possibly it will lead to the substitution in Llandaff of a degree of the Welsh University for a Lampeter one, as the arts qualification for his ordinands. The delay in the readjustment of academic relations and conditions on the part of Church authorities is on a par with the delay in removing other anomalies. It always comes too late. That the Episcopal Church is not fairly represented on the Welsh University Court cannot be disputed. While there are fourteen Nonconformist ministers, there is not a single Welsh bishop, and only two clergymen. This injustice is partly due to Nonconformist aggressiveness, and partly owing to the timidity and delusion of the clergy and Churchmen, namely, that it is not their function to take any active or prominent part in the greatest movements in the history of modern Wales.

Intermediate Education

The passing of the Reform Bill of 1867 meant much for the Principality. Since 1852 there had not been one Nonconformist representative for Wales in Parliament. Several capable Nonconformists were returned in the Election that followed. Another of its parliamentary fruits was the appointment of a Departmental Committee to inquire into the condition of intermediate and higher education in Wales, and to recommend measures for its improvement. The letter to Mr. Gladstone calling for the Inquiry was drafted by Sir Hugh Owen in Lord Aberdare's house. There were three considerations that actuated those gentlemen and those who were like-minded. First, that the voluntary system had failed. Second, that the endowed schools were too few, too poor, too unequally distributed, and too closely identified with the particular interests of the Church of England, to meet the growing and diversified educational needs of the

country. Third, that all efforts in connexion with the Aberystwyth College and the cause of higher education would inevitably result in much waste of money and energy, unless immediate steps were taken to provide adequate preparatory training for those students who contemplated a university career. When the University colleges began to operate, it was found that a great many of the younger students were not fit, educationally, to pursue University studies.

Lord Spencer's letter announcing the appointment of the Committee was dated August 25, 1880. After having heard evidence at fourteen places in Wales and Monmouthshire, the Commissioners issued their report August 18, 1881. Owing to complications relating to rating and local government, the intermediate school system had to wait until the creation of County Councils in 1888. It was put into operation after the councils had come into existence, the county being taken as the unit of organisation, and the thirteen counties of Wales and Monmouthshire grouped into one national area. A series of conferences were held at Shrewsbury to make arrangements for carrying out the provisions of the Act, and of which Mr. Arthur Acland was the first chairman. When Mr. Acland, in 1892, was appointed Vice-President on the Committee of Council on Education, Mr. Humphreys-Owen, a man to whom Wales is greatly indebted, succeeded him as chairman of the joint conferences. The Act empowered the recently constituted County Councils to levy a half-penny Welsh county rate, and it provided for the appointment of joint education committees in each county, whose duty it was to prepare schemes for utilising existing educational buildings and endowments, and, when the necessity arose, to erect new schools to be conducted through the county governing bodies constituted under such schemes.

One of the results of the Act was the creation of a Central Welsh Board for purposes of inspection and examination of the intermediate schools. The Board was also to have partial control over the different county bodies. The Central Board scheme was enacted by Parliament in 1896, the Treasury contributing the sum of £500 per annum for that purpose. The Board was constituted the following year (1897); Mr. Humphreys-Owen was elected Chairman; Principal Viriamu

Jones, F.R.S., Vice-Chairman; Mr. Owen Owen, M.A., Chief Inspector.

There was nothing strikingly original in the recommendations of the Departmental Committee, for the Provincial Body, County area and Rate aid were all embodied in the Report of the School Inquiry Commission (1864–67). But the structure of the school system founded on the Report of the Departmental Committee, though not characterised by any great originality, was generally accepted as the basis of action. It ultimately placed the Welsh county schools outside the area of denominational strife, and brought secondary education within the reach of the whole of Wales. The scheme had the merit of preserving what was useful in existing organisation and of combining both county and national interests. If in the carrying out of the scheme the advocates of county autonomy had prevailed, there would have been thirteen different and separate organisations with standards and policies of their own. Among the foremost who fought for the exclusion of denominational interests and for the national in preference to the county ideal, was Mr. Humphreys-Owen; and to his efforts, in no small measure, is due the fact that Wales to-day is practically a national entity in the sphere of secondary education.

The value and extent of this new movement may be gauged by the following facts and figures:—

Glamorgan has now 15 county schools, or, if the boroughs of Cardiff, Swansea, and Merthyr are included, it has a total of 20 schools; Carmarthenshire has 7; Breconshire, 5; Radnorshire, 2; Pembrokeshire, 8; Cardiganshire, 5; Monmouthshire, including the borough of Newport, 8; while the remainder of the 96 schools are in North Wales. Of these, 18 are for boys, 21 for girls, 48 are dual, and 9 mixed. These are under the charge of 75 headmasters and 21 headmistresses, with 340 assistant masters and 336 assistant mistresses, showing, during last year, an increase of 16 assistant masters and 19 assistant mistresses.

The average salaries paid to assistant masters is £147, 19s. 11d., and to assistant mistresses £121, 0s. 8d. This average has gone up considerably during the last few years, and the period of instruction for which pupils remain at school is much longer than it used to be.

Though there is a decrease of 31 in the number of pupils during the last-mentioned year, in the period from the year 1897 to the year 1903 there was an increase of 2362 in the number of pupils, namely, from 6427 to 8789. In the period from the year 1903 to the year 1910 there was an increase of 4940 in the number of pupils, namely, from 8789 to 13,729.

THE NUMBER OF PUPILS ON THE ROLL OF COUNTY SCHOOLS IN THE YEARS 1907–8, 1908–9, AND 1909–10 IS AS FOLLOWS:—

County.	1907–8.			1908–9.			1909–10.		
	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Anglesey . .	202	142	344	220	169	389	241	180	421
Brecon . .	147	162	309	190	191	381	190	179	369
Cardigan . .	385	300	685	392	273	665	362	257	619
Carmarthen .	503	449	952	557	592	1,149	525	560	1,085
Carnarvon . .	522	500	1,022	616	563	1,179	647	582	1,229
Denbigh . .	525	479	1,004	540	490	1,030	548	439	987
Flint . . .	364	319	683	322	327	649	315	301	616
Glamorgan . .	1,635	2,008	3,643	1,674	2,085	3,759	1,522	1,956	3,478
Merioneth . .	327	350	677	349	371	720	381	379	760
Monmouth . .	289	666	955	317	752	1,069	327	775	1,102
Montgomery .	244	241	485	263	237	500	267	212	479
Pembroke . .	321	372	693	357	397	754	365	369	734
Radnor . .	64	88	152	56	92	148	52	78	130
Cardiff . .	228	284	512	213	280	493	220	277	497
Merthyr Tydfil* .	...	...	...	...	...	...	162	163	325
Newport . .	210	139	349	239	135	374	251	144	395
Swansea . .	269	228	497	272	229	501	249	254	503
Totals . .	6,235	6,727	12,962	6,577	7,183	13,760	6,624	7,105	13,729

* Before the year 1909–10, the numbers for Merthyr Tydfil were included in those for Glamorgan.

The advantages and privileges offered to pupils attending these schools and to candidates for admission may be gathered from the following:—

From school district funds 2435 pupils hold scholarships of the aggregate value of £11,176, 12s. 4d., while 547 of these receive augmentations of the aggregate value of £1370, 4s. 7d., and from the same funds 1515 pupils receive bursaries of the aggregate value of £3985, 3s. 11d.

From secondary school grants 502 pupils hold scholarships of the aggregate value of £2436, 18s., and 69 of these receive augmentations amounting to £144, 17s. From the same funds 58 pupils receive bursaries and augmentations amounting to £435, 12s. 6d.

From scholarship district funds 356 pupils receive scholarships and augmentations amounting to £3358, 8s. 5d., and 17 receive bursaries from the same funds amounting to £65.

From county foundation funds 1113 pupils hold scholarships and augmentations amounting to £5708, 2s. 2d., and 13 receive bursaries of the aggregate value of £59.

Besides these, some hundreds of pupils hold scholarships and bursaries from private donations, endowments, charities, and other sources, amounting in the aggregate to about £2526. The amount applied in scholarships and bursaries, including the provision of "free places," has increased from £22,837 in the year 1907–8 to £32,314 in the year 1909–10. Can this expenditure be justified?

It should be said that an undue proportion of the scholars in the secondary schools as well as in the University Colleges are in receipt of grants from public funds in the form of maintenance scholarships and free tuition. The Committee that was appointed by the Treasury in 1909 to report on the work done in the three University Colleges of Wales stated in their Report that there was a plethora of exhibitions and scholarships granted in connection with the Colleges, and urged on the Treasury the desirability of calling upon the colleges to spend less money in this direction. The day of sacrifice for the sake of knowledge apparently is past. It actually pays young men and women better to become students than to be employed in some work; for, in addition to free tuition, they get scholarships ranging from £30 to £50. It is calculated that two out of every three of the students in some of the Welsh colleges get free tuition; their fees are paid for by the college, the County Councils, the Nonconformist colleges, or the Board of Education. When the majority of students do not pay their own fees, it is not expedient that the colleges should also grant them entrance exhibitions.

Are the results of secondary education in Wales commensurate with the endeavour and with the financial outlay? The critics of the present system maintain that the practical side of

education is being sacrificed to the academic, and that too little is being done to foster the commercial, technical, agricultural, and domestic sides of Welsh secondary education. The defenders of the system, on the other hand, affirm that the Welsh county schools were primarily intended to supply education intermediate between that of the elementary schools and that of the universities. However, even the best friends of the present system are beginning to realise that the county schools should be practical as well as academic, so that they may be able to bridge the gulf, not only between the elementary schools and the universities, but also between the elementary schools and life in all its departments. Before embarking upon any scheme of practical education, it is important to remember that all pupils should receive a sound general education before they begin a specialised course of instruction for any particular purpose. For the first three years at a county school, therefore, that is to say, between the ages of twelve and fifteen, all pupils, whether they intend to proceed to the universities or to enter business or agricultural life, should follow a more or less uniform course. At the end of the three years those pupils intended for the universities and the professions could continue to follow the full secondary school course in the necessary subjects as at present; while those desirous of entering commercial life might abandon some subjects in favour of others more directly suited to their particular needs.

If a tithe of what was contained in the Report of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education, 1910, is well-founded, the system should be re-cast. No such damaging criticism has been directed against Wales since the publication of Baron Lingen's Report on the State of Morality and Education in the Principality in 1847. It is notorious that the Report of 1847 gave a vicious tone to English public opinion on things Welsh, which half a century of consistent and conscientious effort has hardly sufficed to obliterate. It is certain that the cause of education in Wales has received a grave set-back, for this is not the judgment of a few monoglot English barristers, but the studied and sober pronouncement of a National Education Department whose officials are Welsh, and who are aware that on these Reports future generations will estimate Welsh progress in education.

But yesterday the Welsh system was proclaimed to the world as a model for other nations, which, on account of its perfection, we were told, was being introduced in principle in India and South Africa; and that it was "equal to that established in any part of the Empire." It has been a rude awakening for the Welsh people to find that the result of twenty-one years of teaching under the Secondary Education Scheme has been so unsatisfactory. The Report condemned the choice of subjects, the method of teaching, and the method of testing the results of the teaching. The Central Welsh Board has had twenty-one years to carry on the system, and apparently it has failed. The Board appears to overload the schools and overpress the pupils. Their examinations are too rigid, with the result that, in the opinion of the Inspectors of the Welsh Department, the schools produce a stereotyped class of boys and girls of the "wooden and unintelligent type." Instead of being better, they are worse educated, though the Central Welsh Board has got the children to remain longer in school than was the case years ago. Welshmen in general, and the special pleaders of the Central Board in particular, have stigmatised the strictures of the Board of Education as a "gigantic superstructure of calumny," and a "biased attempt to bolster up a prejudiced opinion." The Welsh are deficient in the art of self-criticism, and having been brought up in an atmosphere of self-congratulation, they find it more than difficult to accept correction. There is, however, grave dissatisfaction among men by no means given to erratic fancies with the administration of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education. Those who know it best seem to admire it the least. The sectarian spirit, it is alleged, is rife in that department, and it lends itself to a very serious suspicion that its object is, at any cost, to get rid of the Central Welsh Board, because it stands, or they think it stands, between them and the President of the Board of Education. If we are to believe the Inspectors of the Welsh Department, in no country and at no period in Welsh history has there been greater attention paid to the question of education than in Wales during the last twenty-five years, and yet at no time and in no other country is teaching conducted on less modern lines. The highest aims of education have been missed. Such is the

excessive regard for examination results and the preference for easy subjects, that the real interests of the pupils are not considered. There are too many secondary schools in Wales; they are not properly distributed, and many of them will, in future, be unable to survive without a heavy drain on the rates. Under the scheme it was taken for granted that a certain number of pupils from each district would proceed to local county intermediate schools, whereas, in practice, it is found that the schools which obtain the greatest successes get the pupils. Hence it is that pupils in one county attend schools situated in another county, and the headmasters and the staff aim at a reputation by developing a few brilliant pupils at the expense of giving an efficient general education to all the pupils. According to the Report referred to, the degree of general ignorance of English composition which prevails in Welsh intermediate schools is distressing. Employers of labour and others who have cause to engage the services of pupils who have left the intermediate schools, find that they are less solid than boys were wont to be; probably more intelligent, but less reliable. Their ability to read and write and spell is, undoubtedly, less than it used to be; they have a superficial knowledge of many subjects which is of no practical use to them in the sphere wherein they are destined to move, and if they have gained somewhat in alertness—by no means always the case—they have suffered in solidity of character so far as it can be developed in boys of their age. Many of them chafe at discipline; the views they gather in school are frequently unsuitable, having regard to their home surroundings. They have been made to understand little of the calls to be made upon them on leaving school, and the result, from the employer's point of view, is unsatisfactory.

This is due partly to the system itself and partly to the defective character of the education given. When they get a smattering of one or two subjects, they leave the school. It should be compulsory upon all pupils leaving the elementary schools at the end of the ordinary course, to attend a secondary school, and remain there for at least three years. If that were done, the real demand for secondary education would be found to be nothing like as extensive as it is supposed to be. Secondary education has been greatly overdone. A

year or two of study, with a smattering of new subjects, is practically useless. In Scotland, for instance, the educational system is much better fitted together, and the courses of study are so arranged that the pupil may leave school without completing the full secondary course, but yet having passed through a measured curriculum. The Scottish schoolboy has three choices on reaching the age of twelve. He may either go on to the supplementary department of the elementary school, or he may enter an intermediate school, preparing for the intermediate grade of the leaving certificate, or he may join a secondary school and take the full course, the proper termination of which is the winning of a full leaving certificate. Each of these three courses has a well-defined curriculum, and is complete in itself. The pupil can be kept at school compulsorily beyond the age of fourteen, but in Scotland it is generally found that it is not usual for a pupil in schools other than elementary to leave before the age for taking the intermediate certificate, and as the Report on secondary education in Scotland for 1910, issued recently, indicated, the number of those completing the full secondary course is increasing. The relative importance of elementary and secondary instruction cannot be over-emphasised. The elementary school is the national school; the secondary school is only an accessary.

University Education

In Wylie's *History of the Reign of Henry IV.* there is an account of the negotiations beween Owain Glyn Dwr and Charles VI. of France in 1405. Owain suggested the establishment of two universities, one in North and the other in South Wales, the locality to be decided subsequently. It was also a subject of correspondence between Oliver Cromwell and Richard Baxter. There is a Welsh bardic tradition that Henry VII. promised to establish a Welsh University in the Valley of Neath, in Glamorganshire. Owain's ideal did not come to fruition until 1872, when the University College of Aberystwyth was opened, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Charles Edwards, assisted by two professors. During the intervening period, several sectarian theological seminaries, to which reference has already been made, were

established; but no attempt was made to found any institution which could be considered of university rank until the year 1827, when St. David's College, Lampeter, associated with the Church of England, was established; it was incorporated the following year, 1828. In 1852 and 1865 it was empowered by charters to confer the degree of B.D. and B.A. upon its own students.

In 1853, Mr. B. T. Williams, barrister-at-law (afterwards Judge of County Courts), wrote an essay setting forth the claims of Wales to a university. The following year (1854) Sir Hugh Owen read a paper in London suggesting the establishment of colleges in Wales on the lines of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. In the same year, the first of the series of conferences was held in London to discuss the University project. Among those present were Sir Hugh Owen, Sir George Osborne Morgan, Dr. David Charles, Dr. Lewis Edwards, Rev. Henry Rees, Mr. Richard Humphreys, Mr. Richard Davies (afterwards Lord-Lieutenant of Anglesey), and Mr. Enoch Gibbon Salisbury. A conference, convened by Sir George Osborne Morgan and Mr. Morgan Lloyd, was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, in 1863, under the presidency of Mr. William Williams, M.P. for Lambeth. An executive committee was formed, of which Sir Hugh Owen and Sir George Osborne Morgan became honorary secretaries, Mr. William Williams, M.P., treasurer, and Mr. Morgan Lloyd, subtreasurer. Dr. Thomas Nicholas, who wrote a series of articles to the Cambrian *Daily Leader* bearing upon the subject, served as secretary until 1867, being succeeded by Dr. Charles, who held that position till 1871. Negotiations took place between the committee and Dr. Perowne, the then Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, with a view of forming a Welsh degree-conferring university in combination with St. David's; but they fell through. It was then decided to work for the founding of an unsectarian college of university rank, from which students might graduate at the London University, Sir Hugh Owen acting as secretary and organiser from 1871 until his death. He retired from the Local Government Board in 1872 at the age of sixty-eight, and was, therefore, able to give his whole time to the Aberystwyth College, which was opened October 1872. In the course of three years Sir Hugh raised,

through his own personal efforts, the sum of £8878, being chiefly the contributions of the middle and working classes. It was mainly through his efforts that the Aberystwyth College was kept open from 1872 till 1877. He was faithfully supported by such men as John Griffiths (Y Gohebydd), Stephen Evans, a London merchant, Sir Lewis Morris, Lord Aberdare, Lord Rendel, and by sympathisers of a later day, such as Mr. Cadwaladr Davies, Sir Marchant Williams, and others. In 1882 the first annual grant of £4000 was given by the Treasury to the Aberystwyth College, but it was transferred to the Bangor University College when it was established, 1884. A separate grant was, however, given to Aberystwyth, amounting to £2500, which was raised to £4000 in 1885. A college was started at Cardiff in 1883, its charter being granted on October 7, 1884. Similar charters were granted to Bangor University College, June 4, 1885, and to the Aberystwyth University College on September 10, 1890.

In 1887 definite steps were taken to secure a degree-granting national University. The late Principal Viriamu Jones of Cardiff took up the problem, and, under his leadership, the idea of a University for Wales became an accomplished fact. It is worthy of note that the University now existing corresponds essentially with the ideal set forth by him in a paper which he read on the subject in London in August 1887. In his speech at the inauguration of the Cardiff College in October 1883, he enumerated four functions of a university: (*a*) to teach; (*b*) to examine and confer its degrees and diplomas on successful students; (*c*) to encourage original investigation in all branches of knowledge; (*d*) to control the intermediate education of the country. A series of conferences was held to formulate a university scheme. At a meeting of the Court of Governors of the Bangor College on April 1, 1891, a committee was appointed which decided upon the substance of the proposed charter, which was submitted to another conference which met on January 6, 1893, and adopted. Foremost among the framers of the original draft were the late Principal Viriamu Jones of Cardiff, Sir Harry Reichel, the present Principal of Bangor University College, Principal Roberts of Aberystwyth, and Sir Isambard Owen. The scheme, with slight modifications, was subsequently submitted to the Lord President of the Council, and, after some

minor changes, it was approved by the Privy Council and ordered to be laid on the tables of both Houses of Parliament. The House of Lords, on the initiative of Dr. Jayne, Bishop of Chester, on August 29, 1893, passed a motion to withhold the charter, this being done in the interests of St. David's College, Lampeter. The motion in the House of Commons to reject the charter was negatived without a division, and the charter establishing a University for Wales received the Royal assent on November 30, 1893. The Court of the University (the governing body) having been constituted, met for the first time at the Privy Council Office in London on April 6, 1894, when Lord Rosebery, then Lord President of the Council, delivered an address. Lord Aberdare was elected first Chancellor.

There is one important difference between the present University system and the one set forth by Viriamu Jones. It was his clear conviction that secondary education should be guided and directed by the University. His failure to carry his idea into effect was due in part to the fact that the Intermediate Education Act of 1889 had been passed four years before the University had been established. The schools are now under the control of the Central Welsh Board. Viriamu Jones strongly opposed the formation of the Central Welsh Board, believing that it would lead to friction and inefficiency.

In dealing with the progress of the University of Wales, Professor Edward V. Arnold of Bangor wrote—

"In scientific discovery the record of the University during the sixteen years of its existence may fairly be said to be brilliant, and so long as our Welsh graduates can interest the British Association, we can afford to disregard less responsible criticism. As regards the professions, the record is less satisfactory. Over the ministerial profession the University has never attained a hold; and in the medical and legal professions it is severely handicapped by the fact that these professions are only living in the great towns. In the Army and the Navy, Welsh interest is of a very passive character. For these reasons, and also because of the poverty of our students, a great and increasing majority of them are candidates for the single profession of teaching, and because of this tendency, our University colleges tend to degenerate into teachers' seminaries. Hence a most imminent

danger, for the man or woman who lives his or her whole life in the atmosphere of the school will never prepare his scholars for the real needs of life. These dangers and difficulties need to be met by a real effort to bring the University more into touch with the economic needs of Wales."

In judging the past record of the Welsh University colleges, it is not unjust to point out that whatever measure of fame they have obtained, it rests not upon great names, but upon the commoner multitude who have gone out to do work in the world, though it may be unchronicled in history or in literature. There are a few past and present who have attained positions of honour in law, in politics, and in the scholastic world, but there are none of real distinction. The only living Welshman of admitted distinction is the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, a man who never had the privilege of a university training, and who cannot claim to have been technically educated. Such, however, is his brilliancy, his versatility, and his endless surprises, that not only Wales but Europe is interested in him, partly as a psychological phenomenon of peculiar interest, and partly as a politician who is possibly destined, if he lives long enough, to occupy the foremost position in British politics. To him is due the very existence of the present administration, and he has won his position by sheer force and personal genius. Judge S. T. Evans, an alumni of Aberystwyth College, is a talented man, and certainly distinguished among Welshmen; but he cannot, in the strict and broad acceptation of the term, be called distinguished in the sense that there is a commanding unlikeness between him and other public men, as even between him and men of his own rank. The late Thomas E. Ellis, M.P., another alumni of Aberystwyth College, was a man of great nobility of character, who loomed largely in Welsh politics; yet he was not marked out by any outstanding mental or oratorical characteristics. There was not in his personality that blend of strange and strong qualities that entitled him to this lofty designation.

The Welsh University colleges, we are told, were meant for the people and not for the select few, and for that reason poor students should not be handicapped by high fees and other prohibitive conditions. But those who judge the worth of Welsh University colleges by the number of students, do not seem

to understand the inevitable corollary that numbers imply mediocrity and a consequent lowering of the standard of University requirements. Discrimination is anathema to the democratic spirit of the age, but discrimination is necessary for the maintenance of a high standard. The same tendency is apparent in Welsh University life as in intermediate school life, namely, to aim, and aim solely, at increased numbers and examination results, which, in turn, means the lowering indirectly of the standard of efficiency in both.

The next serious problem that faces Wales is to find an outlet for the men and women who pass through the University colleges, whether they do or do not attain to graduation. There are 400,000 children in Welsh elementary schools, 14,000 scholars in the intermediate schools, and over 1400 students in the national colleges of Wales. They are trained to look for their livelihood in a manner otherwise than by the sweat of their brow. Though the majority of the students come from the working and middle classes, their University life does not tend to the formation of a harmonious sentiment between them and the classes from which they spring, or to the consciousness of an identity of interest. Even those professors who belong to the more obscure classes seclude and separate themselves, and affect a superiority which is not warranted either by their upbringing or by their intellectual achievements. A few of them hold their position in virtue of sectarian and political associations, and cannot, on the ground of scholarship, command anything better. Even men who have risen above others in virtue, in ability, and in refinement, are not at liberty to divide themselves from those with whom they are not in sympathy; but there are in the Welsh University colleges at this hour a number of self-respecting professors and authorities who are distinguished alike by their scholastic attainments and their public spirit.

Up to the present no organised effort has been made to provide a suitable outlet for this imposing educational output. The solution of the problem does not come within the province of the official University machinery. The main channel of service has been the teaching profession. Of a vast number of them it can be said that, though "called" to teach, they were never *born* to teach, and have but little aptitude. Even academic

qualification and aptitude for teaching do not always go together. The latter is more important than the former; the former without the latter is as unsatisfactory to him who is supposed to teach as it is to those who are supposed to be taught.

The question of an "Appointments Board for Wales" has been lately discussed. It is proposed to establish a body named the Appointments Association for Wales, having upon it the Welsh members of both Houses of Parliament, representatives of the University of Wales and its constituent colleges, the Central Welsh Board, and the local Education Authorities. The association will also include gentlemen interested in Civil Service appointments and connected with important industrial and commercial undertakings and business and professional interests of different kinds, such as Shipping, Railways, Coal Mining, Engineering, Technical Industries, Insurance, Banking, Journalism, Law, and Medicine. In view of the important place of women's work in the life of Wales, it is considered as imperative that their co-operation should be secured. The functions of the association will be to aid, as far as possible, the youth of Wales to achieve successful careers in the Civil Service and in the commercial and professional spheres referred to.

The Executive of the Appointments Association will be the Appointments Board, which will consist of 24 members to be nominated as follows:—

9 by the University Court.
9 by the Appointments Association.
2 by the Central Welsh Board.
4 by the local Education Authorities.

The Board will have power to co-opt three additional members and will be appointed for five years.

The functions of the Board will be—

(1) To discharge all executive functions, to control finance and the appointment of officers; and, further to supply information periodically to Welsh schools and the University colleges as to posts and examinations in the Civil Service at home and abroad, and any other openings in commercial and industrial undertakings offering suitable careers to graduates or other students or pupils.

(2) To enlist the sympathy of business men as regards the

employment of graduates or other students or pupils in private firms, and to bring employers and such persons into communication.

(3) To keep a register of names of persons who have been pupils in Welsh schools or students in University colleges. This scheme will ultimately necessarily involve such changes in the examinations of secondary and elementary schools as will prepare the scholars to take advantage of the opportunities which will be placed at their disposal through the intervention of the Board. It also is a virtual confession that education concerns the practical as well as the ideal, and should be made to touch the actualities of life.

It is premature to state, as some critics do, that the Welsh University colleges have failed in their purpose. It is obvious that their contribution to knowledge in general and research work in particular has been disappointing. Whether they will ultimately be brought into right relations to knowledge, to social affinities, to literary and scholastic attainments, remains to be seen. Is there any institution of learning anywhere that has completely fulfilled the ideal of its founders? It is not easy to put ideals into practice; lack of preliminary training has to be taken into consideration, as well as lack of funds and the quality of the teaching staff. This much, at any rate, can be said in defence of the Welsh University, namely, that it has not been granted some of the facilities that are requisite for the furtherance of literature and scientific research.

Whether the Welsh University system will do for Welshmen all that it is expected and hoped, remains to be seen. There is an advantage in a residential training outside the Principality. Association would be more helpful to a Welshman than a Welsh degree. The average Welsh University graduate who gets his degree goes out into the world as circumscribed and as exclusive as ever. What he mostly needs—a broader atmosphere for his intellect and his spirit—he does not get at the Welsh University. Breadth of culture is what Welsh students need, and it is what the University system does not produce.

A question that has been asked by some enthusiastic Welshmen is, "Where are the writers and men of genius whom our Welsh University was expected to present to the

nation?" This question shows how absurd even intellectual men may become the moment they are confronted with education on its practical side. It is not the function of a university to produce geniuses: they are born, not made; and when born, they manifest themselves, university or no university. It is one of the mysteries of nature that there is no apparent connexion between the demand for genius and its appearance. Genius is spasmodic, provocative, ungovernable. The needs of an age do not always meet with a response on the part of genius. We cannot command genius, and we cannot negotiate it. Genius comes, goes, and demeans itself in defiance of all rules and regulations. Education restricts genius; so does Christianity—at any rate, in certain directions. But there is something even genius cannot do: it cannot supply the place of observation and experience.

In addition to those who have already been named, and who have given most valuable help to the cause of Higher Education in Wales, should be mentioned: The Right Rev. John Owen, D.D., the present Bishop of St. David's; the late Dean Vaughan, of Llandaff; the late Thomas E. Ellis, M.P.; the late Lord Powis; the late Marquis of Bute; Lord Tredegar; Sir Alfred Thomas; the late David Davies, of Llandinam; the Hon. W. N. Bruce, of the Board of Education; Mr. R. D. Roberts, D.Sc.; Mr. Ivor James, the late Registrar of the University; Lord Kenyon; the late Mr. Lewis Williams, of Cardiff; Principals Sir Harry Reichel (Bangor), E. H. Griffiths (Cardiff), and T. F. Roberts (Aberystwyth).

CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES

MY treatment of the education question would not be complete unless supplemented by some details as to the origin and development of the Welsh National Library. The establishment of some such Library was proposed at the very outset of the movement for higher education, and was always considered an essential part of the scheme. The question of making it serve the true interests of the colleges and other educational institutions has been kept steadily in view in every step taken, for the reason that "the work of the University of Wales and of the three University colleges and of divers scientific or technical colleges and schools in Wales, was impaired and hindered by the want of such a library as aforesaid situate in some convenient place in Wales."

A Royal Charter founding the Library was issued under King Edward's sign manual in March 1907, which sets forth the object of the Library as follows :—

"The collection preservation and maintenance of manuscripts printed books periodical publications newspapers pictures engravings and prints musical publications and works of all kinds whatsoever especially manuscripts printed books and other works which have been or shall be composed in Welsh or any other Celtic language or which relate or shall relate to the antiquities language literature philosophy history religion arts crafts and industries of the Welsh and other Celtic peoples as well as all literary works whether connected or not with Welsh subjects composed written or printed in whatsoever language on whatsoever subject and wheresoever published which may help to attain the purposes for which the University of Wales the University College of Wales Aberystwyth the

University College of North Wales the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire and the other educational institutions existing in Wales were created and founded especially the furtherance of higher education within the meaning of the Education Acts 1870 to 1902 and of literary and scientific research and further the creation and maintenance of duplicate and multiplicate specimens and collections to be lent and used from time to time for the purpose of exhibition and instruction at or in connection with the said Colleges and other educational institutions existing in Wales and the preparation and circulation for instructional purposes of photographs and slides of such specimens and collections."

The Library as a place with a habitation came into existence on January 1, 1909, a temporary home being fitted up for it in the building known as the Assembly Rooms, in the town of Aberystwyth. The growth of the collections has, however, been so rapid, that it has been found necessary to take a second building to serve as a supplementary bookstore, pending the erection of the first section of the permanent buildings. The foundation-stone of the new building was laid by His Majesty King George V. on July 15, 1911. A site for the proposed building had already been conveyed to the National Library as a gift by the Right Hon. Lord Rendel, consisting of four acres of land on a hill near the town, commanding extensive prospects, and offering facilities for the erection of a building architecturally dignified, a worthy storehouse of the nation's literary treasures. Lord Rendel has since conveyed a further one and a quarter acres of land, which will enable the accepted plans to be carried out in the most satisfactory way. His lordship has also given the authorities of the Library power to make portions of the approach road over other land belonging to him.

"The stone-laying of the National Library of Wales," says the *Librarian*, in its issue of September 1911, "marks an epoch, not only in the literary history of the Principality, but in the literary history of the whole country. Already many things have been done to let it be known that the National Welsh is *there*. And, so far as we have found, there is a well-defined idea of the functions of the library in the minds of the authorities, and that idea is not the usually accepted one. The Library is

something more than a storehouse for books, although it is that too. If it continues in the way it has been going, it will shortly become the centre of the national literature, and a model bibliographical bureau. We feel it was an honour to that side of the library profession, represented by men in the municipal service, when Mr. John Ballinger, M.A., was appointed Librarian of the Institution. But we can say that the result has more than justified the choice."

The total storage capacity of the building will be—

	Vols.
MSS. Department	50,000
The Great Library Hall	150,000
The Exhibition Block	80,000
The Lower Floor	89,000
First Book-Stack	425,000
Second Book-Stack	400,000
Third Book-Stack	300,000
Grand Total	1,494,000

The total cost of the whole scheme of buildings, terraces, and roads, including a sum of £30,000 for the provision of the Book-Stacks when required, is estimated to be from £150,000 to £200,000, of which it is proposed to spend from £75,000 to £100,000 in order to provide for the immediate and pressing needs of the Library, and a first contract has already been let, and the work commenced for the erection of the Library Hall and a part of the Manuscripts Department, involving, with certain supplementary work of roads, architects' and surveyor's fees, legal and other expenses, and the provision of the necessary fittings, book-cases and furniture, which are not included in the contract for the buildings, an expenditure of about £45,000.

	£ s. d.
The Subscriptions paid and promised to the Building Fund amount to	20,895 15 0
To this must be added the sum already promised by His Majesty's Treasury	10,000 0 0
Total	£30,895 15 0

To erect and equip the absolutely necessary buildings a further sum of £70,000 is required, and it is hoped that during

the next three years a sum of £30,000 will be subscribed, which will enable the Court of Governors to put before the Chancellor of His Majesty's Exchequer a strong case for such a building grant as will enable the first portion of the buildings to be completed.

The following sections of the buildings, more or less complete in themselves, offer opportunities for donors who may desire to erect some definite part of the scheme, namely—

The Central Hall.
The Exhibition Block.
The Administrative Block.
The Manuscripts Department.
The Librarian's House.
The Terraces.
Rooms for Special Collections opening off the Library Hall and the Exhibition Block.

There are excellent reasons why Wales should have a National Library. She has a native literature of considerable extent, printed and in manuscript, extending back to quite early times, and the Welsh printing presses continue to turn out many books in the Welsh language. It is calculated that about fifty newspapers and periodicals are issued regularly in the vernacular. It is necessary that this native literature should be brought together. This side of the Library has been extensively provided for by the collections of Sir John Williams, Bart., and others. He is named in the charter as the first President, and, when a building was available, he handed over his books and manuscripts. He had purchased whole collections, such as the Welsh portion of the Shirburn Castle library, the library of John Parry of Llanarmon, the Hengwrt and Peniarth Manuscripts, and others, besides the individual books, etc., which he spared neither money nor effort to procure.

Social and political considerations lend themselves to educational progress in Wales, and everywhere there are signs of an intellectual awakening. But there is a sad dearth of the more costly and important works in the various branches of knowledge, to say nothing of Government publications, both domestic and foreign, books of reference, and the transactions of learned societies. There is in none of the three Welsh colleges a library

of any great worth relating to the higher branches of learning. The University of Wales itself has no library at all. It was stipulated that the University College at Aberystwyth should transfer to and vest in the National Library such portions of its existing library as might be judged rightly to belong to the National Library as distinguished from the working library of the Welsh Department of the College.

Wales has not been treated on an equal footing with Scotland or Ireland in money grants for its National Institutions. I have referred in my chapter on the "Welsh Ideal" rather extensively to the colossal amounts that have been contributed by the State to various Irish objects. The great disparity that has existed and still exists in the treatment meted out to Wales as compared with Ireland is further emphasised when we consider the very extensive grants that have been made to Irish colleges and universities, while the State contributions to Welsh University colleges and to secondary education have been insignificant and altogether inadequate. The only fund for the maintenance, at present, of the National Library is a grant from the Treasury of £4000. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin, which is a University, have been liberally assisted by the State in regard to the privilege of receiving books for the maintenance of libraries. The University of Edinburgh is within easy reach of the Advocates' Library, which enjoys the same privilege. On account of the hardships inflicted upon authors and publishers, the privilege of receiving free copies was withdrawn from the Universities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the Sion College Library, London, and the Library of King's Inns, Dublin, but a money grant was substituted by the State to make up for the loss. The Copyright Bill now before Parliament provides for an extension to Wales of the same privileges with regard to books published in the United Kingdom as are already given to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the University Library, Cambridge, the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

There are several useful libraries scattered throughout the Principality, the most important of which are Cardiff, Swansea, and Newport, though the whole of North, Mid, and West Wales is destitute of libraries of any size. Cardiff and Swansea

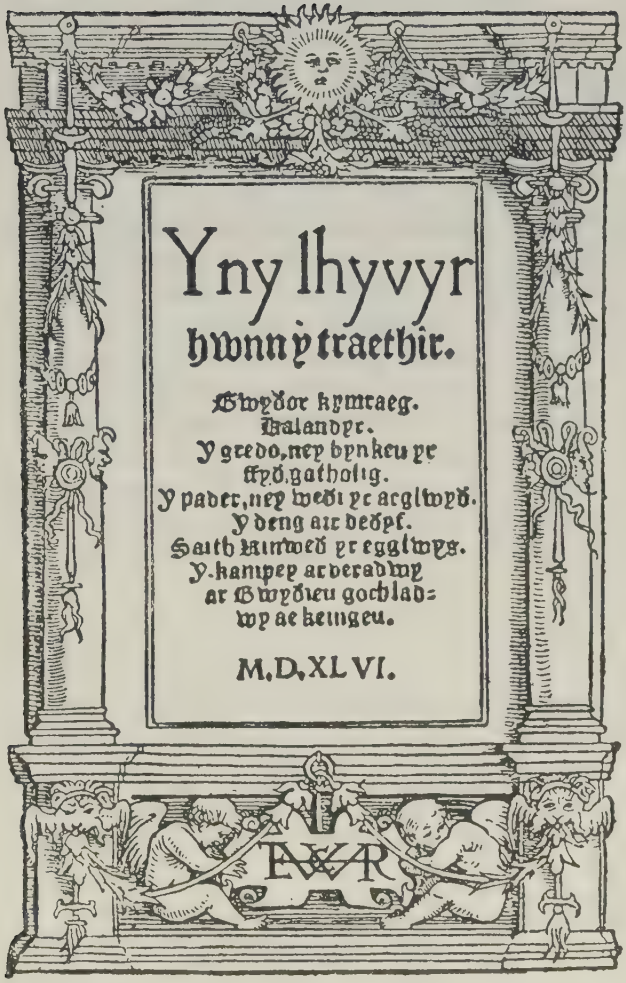
have the advantage of a large surrounding population, being busy industrial centres. After full consideration of the rival claims of Cardiff and Aberystwyth, the latter place was finally chosen by a Committee of the Privy Council. Aberystwyth is the seat of the oldest of the three University colleges which constitute the University of Wales, though the claim that "*modern* Welsh sentiment attaches itself to Aberystwyth more than to any other town," could be contested. The Library will operate over ground not covered by the other libraries scattered throughout the thirteen Welsh counties; and will even increase their usefulness. It will be much in the same position as is the Bodleian Library at Oxford in relation to the libraries in the colleges there. The librarian is empowered to arrange for research and transcription of manuscripts, records, and books for the convenience of correspondents, the cost of transcription being defrayed by the persons for whom the copies are made. The work is done by transcribers not on the regular staff, and the charges made for such work are checked by the librarian. The charter allows the circulation of duplicates and reproductions of manuscripts and very rare books likely to be useful to teachers and students. When it will be impossible to lend them to individuals, it will, in nearly every case, be possible to deposit books in the custody of some library in the neighbourhood.

As to the constitution of the Library, it is a fundamental principle that "no officer no member of the Court of Governors and no member of the Council of the Library and no director professor or teacher or other person employed in connection with the Library shall be required to make any declaration of his religious opinions or to submit to any test whatever."

The aim of the Library may be briefly summed up as follows:—

1. That it shall offer to the people residing in Wales opportunities for study and research in all departments of knowledge similar to those afforded by other national libraries. It will collect, therefore, books on all subjects, in English and other languages.

2. That it shall collect all the works of Welshmen and Welshwomen of all ages; everything about Wales, and the



THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN WELSH.

From the unique copy in the National Library of Wales.

Cân o Senn iw hên Feistr

TOBACCO

A Gyfanſoddodd Gwaſanaethwr Ammodol iddo Gyn't pan dorodd ar ei Ammod ac ef, ynghŷd a'r Rheſſymmeu paham y deffygiodd yng waſanaeth y Concwerwr beunyddiol hwnnw. Ar hen Dôn ac oedd drigannol yn y *D*eyrnas hon Lawer Blwydd ŷn faith Cyn Tirio'r crwydryn ynthi ag a Elwid y *Frwyner tâs*, neu *Dan y Coed* a *Thany Gwydd* Y mae'r 8 ſylaſ gyntaf o'r breichiau yn groes rowiog o r draws gyhydedd, a'r berreu'n amlaf yn Cyſochori.

Argraphwyd yn Nhre-Hedyn, *gan* Iſaac Carter *yn y Flwyddyn* 1718.

The first book printed in Wales.

From the unique copy in the National Library of Wales.

Welsh people at home and abroad; and books in all the Celtic languages (Welsh, Gaelic, Manx, Breton, and Cornish), and all books dealing with Celtic matters.

The organisation is necessarily not complete, but, so far as it has gone, it augurs well for its future as a special library for Celtic studies, and as the centre for higher studies in Wales and for Wales. Thirty-nine years have passed since the desire for a National Library first took shape in connection with the establishment of the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth in 1872, and the first Committee was formed with that object at the National Eisteddfod, which was held at Mold in Flintshire in 1873. It has since leaped into a position of first-class importance. Celtic scholars, and those engaged in Celtic studies in Europe and America, have shown their interest, and many of them have sent their own writings and have also made other contributions. It would be impossible to convey an adequate idea of the wealth of treasures already brought together through the instrumentality of its first president, Sir John Williams, and in response to the appeal of the Library Committee for gifts of books, periodicals, and MSS.

It has always been supposed that the first piece of printing executed within the borders of the Principality was dated 1719, but the Shirburn Library contains two pieces from the same press, Isaac Carter, Trehedyn (Adpar), Newcastle Emlyn, dated 1718, one, *Cân ar Fesur Triban*, and the other (*see illustration*), *Cân o Senn iw hên Feistr Tobacco* (A song of censure to his old master, Tobacco, which was composed by a former bond-servant of his when he broke his pledge to him, etc.).

And so with many other rare volumes, like *Kynniver llith a ban* and the *Dictionary* of William Salesbury, either they are unique, or nearly all the other known copies are imperfect. Of the twenty-two books known to have been printed in Welsh before 1600, eighteen are in Sir John Williams's library, and a nineteenth is in another collection transferred to the National Library.

CHAPTER X

THE WELSH IDEAL—WALES AND IRELAND

FOR well-nigh four centuries the Principality has been united to England, and its history merged with that of Britain. To all intents and purposes the country has since been one with the whole of the island, but it has been and continues to be itself. Overshadowed by a mighty Imperial State, the greatest absorbing power ever known, it has preserved the consciousness of its own national identity, still retaining its literature, tradition, and many of the characteristics of the ancient Cymry. These facts are worthy of consideration, especially when we bear in mind that during the three hundred years extending from 1535 to 1837, that is, from the date of the English annexation to the ascension of Queen Victoria, the governing principle of British legislation affecting Wales was the assimilation of the country to England. Wales was then, and until recent years, what Metternich had called Italy, "a geographical expression," and treated as such. Ever since the days of Canning the English people have sympathised with national movements on the Continent, though it is a curious fact that they have been traditionally averse to the recognition of the national rights of Wales.

In regard to many matters of legislation and administration, Wales ought, on the ground of race, history, literature, social and political aspiration, to be treated as a separate entity, even as Scotland and Ireland are so treated. The Welsh people always had a prince, but until this year it was an empty title. The Welsh arms are not included in the royal quarterings, no order of knighthood exists for her

honour, and, apart from the three Welsh regiments of the line—second to none in the roll of honour though they be—her name is unconnected with any special body of troops.

Long before the Tudor period, as far back as the fourteenth century, statutes of a most oppressive kind had been passed, designed to stamp out the individuality of the people, and to make impossible the development of nationhood. The King was the King of the English, not of the Welsh; the Principality did not count, and the English policy was a policy of repression in almost every direction. It was made illegal for a Welshman to buy land within England; no Welshman could become a municipal officer, nor, indeed, could enjoy the rights of a citizen or a burgess. No Englishman could be convicted at the suit of any Welshman in Wales, except by the judgment of English justices; no Englishman who was married to a Welshwoman could be put into office either in Wales or the Marches. In the Marches it was almost impossible to punish criminal offences. The Lords Marchers, when not fighting with each other, were making raids upon the Welsh. Less than two hundred years before the Bible was translated into Welsh by Dr. William Morgan, it was a criminal offence to keep Welsh children at learning, or to apprentice them to a trade in any town or borough of the realm. As far back as the reign of William and Mary an Act of Parliament was passed (1696), stipulating that there should be a school and a schoolmaster in every parish in Scotland. A Scottish University—St. Andrews—was founded in 1410. The date scarcely admits of doubt. Bishop Wardlaw, in his charter of date 28th February 1411–12, speaks of what was "jam laudabiliter inchoata," while Walter Bower, writer of the continuation of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, says: "In the year preceding, to wit, in the year of our Lord 1410, after the Feast of Pentecost, a University had its beginning in the City of St. Andrews of Kilrymont, in Scotland, in the time of Henry de Wardlaw, Bishop, and James Biset, Prior of the same St. Andrews." In that year it appears that some churchmen formed themselves into a society for learning. They gave lectures to all who cared to take advantage of

them, and Wardlaw, in the spring of 1412, issued a charter (the original has been lost), founding the University anew, with all the customary rights and privileges. The University of Paris, with which Wardlaw was familiar, was the model. The University College at Aberystwyth was the first of its kind ever planted in Wales, and its first Principal, Rev. Thomas Charles Edwards, took office in 1872. In the year 1850 there was but one voluntary school in Wales to 3400 of the population, and the first public elementary school dates only from 1870, though the first National and British schools had existed for over fifty years. Such has been the educational disadvantage of the Welsh people that they have a peculiar claim to our sympathy and admiration. Merely to have survived under such conditions, and to have resisted the denationalising process so resolutely prosecuted during the twenty-one years of William the Conqueror's rule, and to have preserved their separate entity during the period intervening between the conquest by Edward I. and the enthronement of Victoria, would, in itself, have constituted a worthy record.

But the Welsh achievement does not end here. Although kept, as a people, as far as possible, outside the sphere of the central government throughout the generations, circumvented by the imposition of certain disabilities, the population poor, scattered, and disorganised, with little or no encouragement from the State, the Welsh largely instructed themselves, and, in later years, found the apparatus of higher education chiefly out of their own resources. Much was done for them by individual Englishmen like Thomas Gouge, who was once Incumbent of St. Sepulchre's, London, supported by Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Stillingfleet, and Richard Baxter; and above all by one of the greatest benefactors of Wales, the *Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge*. What opportunities the people had, and what liberty of expression they received, they devoted to the highest of all purposes, namely, the cultivation of music and of letters, the gifts of speech, of healthy habits of conviviality, and, above all, the practice of religion. This has, perhaps, hardly been realised as it should be; it certainly has not, until recent years,

been requited by the State and by British statesmen as it should be.

In a work on *Contemporary Ireland*, by L. Paul Dubois, and which Mr. T. M. Kettle, M.P., thinks will rank with the great studies of modern communities like Bodley's *France*, and Münsterberg's *The Americans*, there is the following statement: "Between a small nation and a great, between a conquered people and its conqueror, there can be but a sham Union, the union, in Byron's words, of a boa constrictor with its prey. There can be but one issue of such a union, a nation badly governed, and a government *badly obeyed*." (The italics are mine.) This is part of the diagnosis of Ireland upon which the claim for Irish Home Rule is based. The history of Wales supplies a supreme instance to the contrary. The Principality, as I have already stated, was not well or wisely governed by England during the years succeeding the Act of Union. Some Welshmen would say it was badly governed. But England stood in the position of teacher and administrator, and administrators are not usually loved when they maintain discipline and establish order. One half of the explanation of what misgovernment existed on the part of England is to be found in unlikeness of blood, ideals, and temperament. But it is a striking fact that in Wales the forces of re-growth prevailed over the forces of decay, not in spite, but because of the Union. It *does* take a long time for the conquered and the conqueror to live together in amity, but they do, as in the case of the Northern and the Southern States of America.

If the Southern States will ever again demand separation, as they are very likely to do, it will be on the ground of more political economy and good government. The question of the American Union is not settled for ever, for the growths in the future of immense regions on the American Continent, in commerce and in population, will make inevitable the formation of several great Republics—not republics of reaction, but pacific and homogeneous.

Wales the conquered, and England the conqueror, have lived together in outward peace. Wales, once a troublesome portion of the United Kingdom, has become under the Union

a law-abiding and industrious nation. An ancient people has been preserved, their character developed, and a higher civilisation created for them and by them. "Such conditions," say the Irish, or those who represent them, "can only come as a result of political autonomy; and until autonomy is won" —carrying with it a readjustment of taxation—"on the conflict must go."

In Wales there has certainly been political discontent and acrid religious discussions, but discussions are the safety-valves of a free, industrious, and a liberty-loving people. Welsh public men—even the most militant of them—have seldom crossed the line by inciting their countrymen to open breaches of the peace, or to armed rebellion, as has been the case with the Irish leaders. True, during the Tithe agitation many unjustifiable and some cruel acts were committed; nevertheless but few national crimes have been recorded against the Welsh. The more foreigners know of their history the more they know that by their vivacious intelligence, and the Christian fidelity of their theology, they have fought the battle of moral and intellectual progress.

Until the Reform Movement of 1832 Wales was not specially recognised, but, contemporaneous with the French Revolution, a spirit of political reform took hold of the people, and it continued to grow without any abatement or interruption up to the year 1868. Then the battle of special political recognition was fought out, and Welshmen began to work together for suitable legislation. The growth of the sentiment which binds individuals, the mass sentiment, the feeling of solidarity and unity of interest among large numbers, represents a distinct power and a distinct *gain*—when rightly directed and when animated by a corresponding sense of responsibility among the people as a whole. This conspicuous development of social and political fellow-feeling is among the most striking features of modern Welsh national life. The chief cause of the Cymric reverses since the time when they emerged as a separate nation under Cunedda and his descendants, at the termination of the Roman occupation, was lack of unity and cohesion. Not that this socialisation is without its dangers, both to Imperial and sub-national interests. It is

apt to beget, and does beget, an emotional frame of mind which often outruns intellectual control. It develops an anti-foreign sentiment, and engenders hostility towards ethical and political ideals other than those bred on native soil. Instead of enlarging, it tends to circumscribe the national outlook and national sympathies. It did so in Wales.

True, a culture too completely foreign must operate in the direction of denationalisation; to rob a nation, however small, of its individuality must be a loss. The principle of nationality or of local patriotism, besides being a valuable thing in itself, possesses great economic value. It is an incentive to energy, to idealism, and to mental development. Each nation has its own specific qualities, which would not have proper scope for action if foreign methods and institutions were foisted upon it unreasonably. The Welsh have attributes of mind and of heart which are not common to other nationalities. They have a temperament which is poetical, musical, reverential, religious. English travellers who go into Wales find in the people much they would like to find in their own people of their own country—a richer apprehension of the intellectual matters, and a deeper interest in public affairs. What Wales now claims is that the apparatus of civil government should be better adjusted to the needs of the country. This is not disintegration; it is the secret of true stability. What breeds disintegration is the arrogance of the one which ignores and depreciates the virtues and legitimate claims of the other. The English Throne stands high in the esteem and affection of the great body of the Welsh. It was natural that the fact of their disinheritance should profoundly affect them, and produce a temporary feeling of aversion towards their conquerors; such feeling was aggravated by the unsympathetic and arbitrary conduct of some of the English functionaries. But a great change came over the Welsh when a Tudor ascended the throne; they have since been, though not solely on that account, loyal subjects of the English Crown. During the Civil War their sympathies were with the Royalists, especially in the North. The bards, likewise, were strong adherents of the monarchy. Two of them, Rowland Vaughan and William Philip, and many other Welshmen, actually

suffered for their convictions; and with the accession of Charles II. their loyalty became more pronounced. The reasons are not far to seek. The Welsh have discovered that side by side with a monarchical government there can, and does, exist a type and degree of personal, social, and political equality and opportunity, not excelled or exceeded under any other form of constitution.

The Welsh ideal is not, and could not be, conquest or military prowess. Their independence they have lost, and lost with advantage to themselves; the gains of the annexation are many and varied. In 1535—two hundred and fifty-three years after the overthrow — Wales was formally and administratively united to England, and was allowed for the first time to send a few representatives to the British House of Commons in the reign of Henry VIII. The number was gradually increased, and in 1835 it reached thirty-four, the present number. Since the Union the people have prospered in a manner that would have been impossible under the old system—or rather want of system. During the days of their independence their feelings were in a constant state of tragic turmoil; so was their benighted country. Then, their life was a tragedy. Feuds and dissensions had almost assumed the character of a sacred profession. The first requisite of progress is peace—internal and fraternal peace. Such peace the Welsh had never known under their own princes; the old order did not contain the roots of permanency; it was a spasmodic, nomadic, and turbulent existence. The Union was a bold piece of statesmanship, and a wise one. Seemingly the country was ill-fitted for it. Sir John Price and other far-sighted Welshmen, who petitioned the Throne for annexation, and at whose express desire it was granted, realised the utter demoralisation of the people whose land was desolated by private feuds, anarchy, and lawlessness. They felt that the people needed the restraints of a firm and sympathetic government. The Union was a success. Henry VII. discovered that the Welsh, who were lawless and rebellious when given too free a hand and left to themselves, were a good race governed and put under legitimate restraints. Wales was no more "the land of brothers" then than it is now.

There is not the same spirit of mutual helpfulness among the Welsh as there is, for instance, among the Scots or the Swiss.

Incorporation with England, so far from being resented, was actually hailed as a relief. Instead of independence, or semi-independence, with a country where strangers travelled in peril of their lives, where murders and robberies were rife, the people living in perpetual feuds with scarcely a natural virtue left, there was substituted the Union, which, broadly speaking, was accompanied and followed in course of time by such political and material advantages that the paramount regret, among the most enlightened of the populace, was that it had not been effected earlier. The Union was, in the highest sense, a corrective; it became popular; it proved a blessing. In the course of the four centuries that have since elapsed, there has not been a demand or a desire from the people for its repeal. Neither will there be if they are left alone by doctrinaire politicians and are not forced, by party machinery, to cross palms with those Irishmen who are setting an unhealthy fashion in politics for the other portions of the kingdom. History shows how the Welsh have suffered through too loose a government from within, and how they have prospered under a resolute government from without. A people like the Welsh, that are litigious by nature, inflammable in temperament, and abnormally idealistic, need, for their own sakes, such political and imperial restrictions as are consistent with legitimate and necessary freedom. The Welsh have ever been prone to dreams and visions, and have found it difficult to rest in the actual and the practical. Their poetry, religion, music, and philosophy have ministered to this side of their nature. Their zeal is a violent blaze that soon burns itself out. The recognition of nationality and reasonable opportunities for its development along the lines of prudence is wise statesmanship; but separate recognition, merely for nationality's sake, without regard for other interests in an Empire such as the British, is to create a situation which may easily become disastrous. Wales needs England quite as much as England needs Wales, and the necessity for the Union is greater now than even in the days of Henry VIII. The Union gave the Welsh a sense of security, and, in addition

to security, impetus for reflection. It gave them a new outlook on life, and larger objects of interest; it brought them from the romantic into the practical mood, from the provincial into the cosmopolitan area. The Union, it is true, merged their history into that of England, but it enabled the race to emerge out of its obscurity and disordered self. The Union provided the people with the machinery of a free civic society and parliamentary representation; it placed them in a position to gradually partake in the prosperity of the conquering power. Strange to relate, Welsh Nationalism has thriven under the influence of cosmopolitan elements; it has actually become more acute under the impetus of commerce, industry, and even the gradual spread of the English language and manners. In brief, the Union made Wales a nation, for it gave it unity of feeling, unity of sentiment, and unity of action, without which nationhood is impossible.

Severance from British authority is no part of the Welsh ideal. Wales does emphasise, and with increasing earnestness, her right to be considered as an integral unit requiring separate treatment in legislation and administration; but Home Rule, in the Irish sense, the people do not want, and herein is one signal unlikeness between the case of Wales and that of Ireland; and the dissimilarity in aim involves, of necessity, a dissimilarity in accustomed political action. If it were merely a question of fitness, and by fitness I mean disposition towards the predominant partner, capacity for economic civilisation, and the general elements that go to make up a stable community, Wales should have the first consideration over Ireland. Welsh animation is not the animation of avenging justice, or of unrestrained passion, or of violent hatred towards England. Yet, during the last forty years, Ireland has received a hundredfold more parliamentary consideration than has Wales. The peasantry of Ireland are infinitely better protected than are the Welsh peasantry; their land laws are more modern, practical, and equitable. It is claimed that the transformation in the ownership of land in Ireland, and which was brought about by Mr. Balfour's Government, has eased the way for Irish Home Rule, for the reason that one of Mr. Gladstone's main difficulties was the fear of the fate

that might await Irish landowners. The argument cuts both ways. It might be said that the success of Mr. Wyndham's Irish Land Purchase Act has removed one of the most formidable elements which constituted the demand for Home Rule. It cannot be disputed that one result of the operation of the Act has been to practically do away with the desire for Home Rule on the part of Irish agriculturists.

Not only is there a striking contrast in the matter of legislation as between Wales and Ireland, there are also glaring inequalities in parliamentary representation. An Irish vote in Ireland has greater value—electoral value—than a Welsh or an English vote. The ten borough members who sit behind the Nationalist leader at Westminster represent 58,000 Irishmen; two English Unionist borough members have, between them, a total electorate of 66,000. Votes to have equal value should have equal representation, and this representation might be calculated either on the basis of population, or on the basis of the strength of the total electorate. In this proportion there ought to be a complete surrender of more than one-third of the Irish seats, and a redistribution should be made to benefit English constituencies. Romford with 52,984 electors, and Kilkenny with 1742, have each *one* representative. Surely there must be something wrong in an arrangement which allows one Irish vote in Ireland to have as much value as thirty English votes in England. Newry, in Ireland, with an electorate of 1855, is represented by one member, and thus stands on an equal political footing with Walthamstow with 42,029 voters, Wandsworth with 39,821, and Harrow with 39,865. On the basis of the Irish average, the House of Commons ought to have 1169 members instead of 670. Taking the entire kingdom, the average of electors for each of the 670 members of Parliament is 11,798, but in England and Wales the average per member is 12,945, in Scotland 11,117, and in Ireland 6761. Taking the general average for the kingdom (11,798), the Irish share of representation is really fifty-nine, so that, in point of fact, Ireland has forty-four more members than she is entitled to have on a strictly proportionate basis of representation. This is a serious matter in itself, but at

a time when Mr. Asquith and his supporters are absolutely dependent upon Irish support for their political existence, it is a gross injustice to the rest of the kingdom.

The injustice is equally glaring when the comparison is applied specifically to Wales. There are 255,039 electors in Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire alone, and if they had the same proportionate representation as the Irish constituencies, they alone would return to the House of Commons thirty-seven members, instead of fourteen as at present. In Ireland the electorate has steadily decreased, and its representation continues the same. True there has been a slight decrease in West Carmarthen, and the Montgomeryshire electorate has decreased by 840 since 1896, but other Welsh constituencies show an increase. There are in Wales, at the present time, 368,165 electors, of whom 113,028 are in the borough constituencies, and 255,137 in the county divisions. The average per member in the boroughs is 10,275, and in the county divisions 13,428. It is on the whole a higher average than the general average of the kingdom, and on a proportionate basis Wales is entitled to an additional one or two members, while Ireland, on the same basis, is entitled to forty-four *less* members than she has now.

We should also consider the comparative value of Irish and Welsh votes. A man in these times of educational facilities, who is incapable of reading or writing, should not be allowed to undertake the difficult task of selecting Parliamentary representation for his area. It is reasonable that a certain amount of suspicion should attach to these illiterate votes. In 1906 no less than 12,510 voted, in Ireland, as "illiterate"—practically one out of every ten Irish voters as against one in two hundred and forty-nine for England, one in two hundred and eighty-six for Scotland, and one in one hundred and ninety-seven for Wales—a state of affairs which is a disgrace to any community. It is a remarkable fact that the percentage of illiterates is far greater in Romish countries than it is in Protestant countries. It is time that the illiterate voter should either cease to exist, or should cease to have the right to vote. Yet, Ireland is always full of grievances against the rest of the kingdom, always demanding prece-

dence on the ground of urgency and injustice, and always securing it—over Scotland and Wales alike. For over thirty years the Irish party has been making trouble in the Imperial system abroad, and making and unmaking both Conservative and Radical Governments at home. In Canada they appeal for sympathy to our own kith and kin on the ground of reconciliation, in America they appeal for assistance on the ground of hostility to England. There can be no doubt that the American aspect of their agitation expresses the real underlying and ultimate motive of the Irish ideal. Those of us who have heard the speeches of members of the Irish Parliamentary Party when abroad, have no doubt on this point. It is a most significant fact that it is a very rare thing to find a Cambro-American, or a Scottish-American, or a naturalised Englishman, in America, who believes in the wisdom of granting Irish Home Rule. If he does when he emigrates, he soon changes his mind. Contact with Irish feeling abroad, which is a vital consideration, the speeches of Irish delegates, and an intenser affection for the Mother-land, account for their new-born distrust.

When I asked the late Mr. Michael Davitt and Mr. John Dillon, M.P., if they would repeat in the House of Commons or on any English platform the outrageous statements they had made the previous night to an Irish-American audience, I was told in very curt language that all British Governments alike had cursed every country and everything they had touched. I asked, "What about Egypt, and Canada, and my own little country?"

Irishmen have the peculiar gift of converting every boon into a grievance. The conclusions of the Childers Commission were not universally accepted. But even assuming that they were approximately true at the time, the vast increase in the Imperial contributions for Irish objects has entirely altered the financial aspect of the situation. Ireland not only contributes nothing to the cost of the Imperial Government, but, on the contrary, receives from the Treasury some two or three millions more than she pays. She receives an enormously greater sum, in proportion, in old-age pensions, than does England or Scotland or Wales. During the great Radical

famine, from 1895 to 1905, the Irish members succeeded in obtaining from Mr. Balfour's Government immense monetary concessions, mainly for land purchase. It was part of that policy of conciliation initiated by Mr. Balfour as preferable to the separatist policy of Mr. Gladstone.

For the latter purpose the total sum expended up to March 31, 1911, was	£69,675,910
While application had been made for a further	47,616,544
Making an aggregate of	£117,292,454
Similarly for agricultural labourers' dwellings the sum advanced amounts to	£6,566,537
And that authorised to	7,801,586

In addition to these immense capital sums the following contributions have been made annually:—

Local Government Act (Agricultural Grants)	£730,000
Irish Development Act	185,000
Congested Districts Boards	25,000
Light Railways	25,000
	£965,000

Further small contributions may be named, such as—

Necessitous Grant	£192,000
Land Drainage Contribution	50,000
Irish Railway Act	500,000
Marine Works Act, 1902	100,000
	£842,000

I have referred elsewhere to the very extensive grants given to the Irish colleges as compared with the insignificant and altogether inadequate contributions to Welsh University colleges and Welsh secondary education. On the economic and agricultural side the State grants to Wales amount to practically nothing. The aggregate money value of the concessions obtained by Ireland is simply colossal.

It is claimed that the Home Rule position has become

more favourable since 1886 or 1893; that there are not so many valid objections to granting self-government to Ireland now as there were then. This is merely a pious opinion in the formation of which two parties can indulge. It cannot be accepted as a fact, and ought not to be acted upon, until British electors are directly consulted, as they were on the two occasions when the country declared against Gladstone's Irish Home Rule. In the absence of an electoral test, we have to resort to the test of finance. Those who have studied this aspect of the question know that the position to-day is infinitely worse than it was in 1886 or 1893. Mr. Gladstone laid it down as a principle that Ireland should bear her fair share of Imperial expenditure; but for the last two years Ireland has not contributed one single shilling to Imperial expenditure. She cannot, for she requires all her revenues for her local services, and she requires more than her revenue. In the financial year of 1909–10 there was an excess of expenditure on Irish services over Irish revenue of £2,000,000. If it is said that it was an abnormal deficit owing to the delay in passing the Budget, and when taxes were held over, we can take the average by adding the figures for 1910–11. In that year the revenues had been paid into the Exchequer, so that the sum of revenue for the two years represents the true yield of Irish taxation in these two years. Adding the two sums together, we get a total of £20,020,500, or an average annual revenue of £10,010,250. The expenditure on Irish services in the two years, taken in the same way, brings out a total of £22,057,000, or an annual expenditure of £11,028,500. Therefore, the average deficit in Irish local finance over the last two years has been £1,018,250 a year. Ireland at the present moment is indebted to Great Britain to that amount for her purely local services. She has also in the last two years got back from the Imperial Treasury £2,000,000 more than she paid in—a million sterling a year. If Ireland is to have Home Rule, it ought to be on the basis of financial honesty—being able to pay her own way. This she does not do, in spite of preferential treatment and the enormous sums of money which Parliament has already given her.

As to the question of Imperial expenditure, Mr. Gladstone stipulated that Ireland should pay one-fifteenth. For the time that came to £3,242,000. Since then there has been a vast increase in the cost of Imperial services. In the estimated expenditure for the present year the cost of the Army and Navy is put at £72,083,000, while the Consolidated Fund Services will require £37,036,000. On a basis of one-fifteenth, Ireland's obligation for these services alone would amount in the present year to over £7,000,000. It may, therefore, be taken that if Ireland had got Home Rule in 1886 she would have been obliged to pay into the Imperial Treasury in the present year not much short of £8,000,000 as her share of Imperial expenditure. As Ireland pays nothing, but gets instead over £1,000,000 for her local services, the failure of the 1886 Home Rule Bill is worth to Ireland in this present year fully £9,000,000. In fixing Ireland's contribution at one-fifteenth, Mr. Gladstone proceeded on the basis of taxable capacity. In 1886 he thought that was the fairest method of reckoning. In 1893, however, moved, no doubt, by Nationalist pleading, he abandoned any precise method of reckoning, and proposed the round sum of £2,370,000, which was equivalent to about one twenty-fifth of the total Imperial expenditure. Later, he suggested that the sum should be fixed at one-third of the Irish revenue, and, changing his mind once more, he proposed that the amount payable by Ireland should be the sum she had contributed to Imperial expenditure in the preceding year. In actual figures, there was not much difference among these three schemes, the last fixing the Irish contribution at £2,300,000. Notwithstanding these various changes in detail, Mr. Gladstone was always perfectly clear that Ireland ought to pay her share of Imperial expenditure. In introducing the 1893 Bill he had declared, as has already been said, that they were bound to give effect to the principle that Ireland should bear her share. Nor was this contention disputed by the Irish Nationalists. Mr. Parnell's only criticism in 1886 was that the quota of one-sixteenth was too high. It should not, he said, be more than one-twentieth. If it were one-twentieth to-day, Ireland would be paying over £5,000,000 a year to Imperial expendi-

ture; and that on the suggestion of Parnell himself. What Ireland's real position to-day is we know. She gets all the Imperial services for nothing, and, besides, over a million for her local government.

Thus the meaning of granting Home Rule to Ireland is, that Great Britain is to pay Ireland over a million pounds annually—and that sum will increase with years—to support Ireland's local services because Ireland cannot do it herself, and Great Britain is to have no voice in deciding the amount spent in local services, nor their objects. Great Britain is also to pay herself all the costs of our Army and Navy, and to give Ireland protection and security, take upon herself the whole burden of the National Debt, and those Imperial civil services necessary in the government of the United Kingdom. In addition to that, Ireland will not be in a position to contribute one shilling to Imperial expenditure, for Ireland's share, according to Gladstone's principle, will amount to several millions. In brief, Ireland is to get everything paid for her by the British tax-payer, and to have a separate Legislature over which the British tax-payer and the Imperial Parliament will have no control whatever. For the present Radical Government, or for any Government, to have the hardihood to commit such a crime over the heads of British tax-payers, without a Second Chamber to revise it, and without giving the British electors an opportunity of voting directly upon the question, or upon the merits of the Bill they propose to pass, will cover Mr. Asquith's name, and those who act with him, with everlasting infamy. This is the Ireland that Mr. John Redmond described as the "Cinderella" among the sister kingdoms.

Even were Home Rule granted the Irish to-morrow, the *entente cordiale* would not be restored. Paul Dubois in his *Contemporary Ireland*, who gives his verdict on the international issue clearly and definitely for Ireland and against England, says that there can be no doubt on this point, and he has met every Irishman that is worth meeting. Irish hatred of England is no abstract or superficial thing: it is deep, intense, rancorous, and abiding. As Grattan said, "As equals we shall be England's friend, as anything less than

her equal, her bitterest enemy." Ireland would still reach out her arms towards France, and still be bent on shattering British domination. They have a greater affinity with the French than with the English—an affinity of character and temperament. From a social, religious, and psychological view-point they are as far apart from the English as they can be. The Nationalism of John Redmond is not the Nationalism of Thomas Davis, a patriot of integrity and of untainted soul. The Nationalism of Davis was a thing of history, of language, of tradition, and literature; the Nationalism of Redmond is essentially a thing of politics.

When Mr. Gladstone, with only a majority of forty, was striving manfully to carry Home Rule in the face of enormous difficulties, and when the Bill in 1893 left the House of Commons for the House of Lords, Mr. John Redmond called it "a toad, ugly and venomous." It is premature at the best to affirm that Irish Home Rule has been purged of its elements of hostility. If it is to be granted, there will be such a demonstration of this spirit that animated John Mitchel, the revolutionary, at home and abroad, that will stagger those who bestowed the gift and bring dismay into the hearts of millions of true Britons.

Now, the Irish members are forcibly demanding that Ireland has a right to claim special treatment under the National Insurance Act. The proposal is that the Irish farmer shall be allowed to stand out of the Bill, so that he may evade the burden laid upon his neighbour agriculturists in Wales, Scotland, and England. It means that the smallholder in Ireland shall be allowed to get cheap labour without having to insure it, as the members of his class in other parts of the kingdom are required to do—that the Irish domestic servant shall be permitted to escape from the burden put upon all domestic servants in Great Britain. Such are the equities of social legislation as between Ireland and Wales. This apparently is what is meant by the new Radical ideal that each portion of the United Kingdom shall henceforth manage its own domestic affairs. Every agreement advanced by Irishmen regarding the farm servant and the domestic servant classes is as practical and as powerful on this side

of the Channel. When old-age pensions were given, Ireland did not analyse her population, as she does in this instance, and modestly demur to an excessive proportion of the Treasury millions to her urban and agricultural classes. Such is the distorted vision that is habitual with Irishmen, and such are the inroads they are increasingly making upon the British Treasury. While they stipulate that the National Insurance Bill shall not be applied to Ireland, they also stipulate that they shall have a full share of the money that is going. They demand that the Government shall set aside the State contributions necessary for financing the scheme, to the credit of Ireland. Already the Irish agriculturist is the pet of the State, and he is to be further favoured, while Welsh, Scottish, and English farmers and servants are sweated at the pleasure of the Government.

While Irish demands have been extravagantly considered, and Irish opposition has been bought off by sacrificing Welsh interests, not a single act of political heroism has been enacted for the benefit of Wales. In the days of Gladstone the Welsh members were of no account, except to keep him in power, and they are still pursuing the same slavish course. The Welsh Party has not yet done anything to establish a reputation for parliamentary aptitude. Their policy has been one of sullen partisanship throughout. They lack firmness, cohesion, and statesmanship. They are put off with soft words, and they parade their somnolent patriotism to throw dust in the eyes of the easily gulled Welshman. But the Welsh elector cannot quarrel with his fate, for, while he pays for his education and religion, he does not pay for his politics. The Irish members are in Parliament for their country; for that they are well paid, and they earn their pay. The Labour Party cost their members £6733 in 1909. Wales has no direct claim upon her representatives, for the reason that the Welsh members bear their own expenses. It is, therefore, only human that they should look after their own interests and personal advancement, and shape their political career accordingly.

Wales has always been sympathetic with the aspirations of the smaller nationalities, and gave more votes for the Gladstonian Home Rule Bill than even Ireland herself. But

Welsh Home Rule has never been taken seriously by the Welsh until now, and not even now by the general body of the electors. Thomas E. Ellis put the question of Welsh Home Rule to the test at Bala on September 18, 1890. He appealed for a national Parliament, elected by the manhood and womanhood of Wales, and which would be responsible to them alone. But his appeal fell on an irresponsive nation. Wales had thrown in her lot with Ireland, and he thought that a nation so much in sympathy with Irish aspirations would be disposed to consider the question of an independent legislature for herself. He forgot that the interest that Wales then took in the question of Irish Home Rule was due more to the glamour of Gladstone's name than to an understanding of the intricacies of the Bill, or even to an appreciation of its justice or its expediency. Here is a psychological fact of peculiar interest, namely, the unbounded and constant devotion of the Welsh nation to a man who never gave them any practical or legislative evidence of the affection which he professed for them, and the sympathy he claimed to have with their racial characteristics. I do not interpret this as a reflection upon the Welsh people, upon either their intelligence or their political morals. On the contrary, this phenomenal fidelity to the man was, in the main, due to the belief in him as the exponent and champion of everything high in political freedom and justice, not only to Wales, but to the whole world. To the Welsh masses adherence to Gladstone meant adherence to the highest principle, apart from any personal benefits. That their fidelity was not requited as it should, and might have been requited, accords well with the Westminster policy ever since Wales came into the political arena, and even from a still earlier period. It is by centuries of patient and abject mendicancy that Wales has succeeded in obtaining from the British Parliament every gift since 1282.

Moreover, Thomas E. Ellis had been carried off his balance by the Tithe war, Land struggle, Educational movement, and the State recognition of the Welsh language. He also forgot that if the principles which he laid down at Bala were to guide the Welsh and to influence Imperial politics, his acceptance

of the office of Junior Whip was a mistake. For the champion of "Cymru Fydd" to indentify himself with the administration was inconsistent with his Welsh Home Rule ideal, as politics stood in those days. Britain, he thought, was sweeping towards nationalism. He failed to recognise that if a genuine Welsh Home Rule Party was to be constituted, it would have to be independent alike of British Conservatism and British Liberalism, accepting no office, and aspiring to no emoluments, but making Welsh Home Rule the first and foremost issue. Still, the Welsh were not then ripe, and the ideal created only a momentary interest.

There has, however, been a striking progress in the direction of local self-government since that time, though Welsh independence is not of the Irish type, either in its method or in its conception of national glory. A little less than twenty-one years after Thomas E. Ellis made his declaration at Bala in favour of an Independent Welsh Legislature, the Anglesey Liberal Association, meeting at Llangefni on Thursday, September 29, 1910, unanimously passed the following resolution. It was proposed by Mr. E. T. John, M.P., who has only recently come into Welsh political life, but who has done much towards bringing this particular question to the front. The resolution read as follows:—

"That this Association is strongly of opinion that the manifold legislative needs of Wales, so long neglected, can only receive constant and adequate attention by creating a Welsh Legislative Chamber, and is satisfied that the creation of four national chambers, controlled by an elected Imperial Senate, constitutes the best solution of the existing constitutional deadlock and the most effective remedy for the present congestion of legislative business; and we also strongly urge on the Welsh Liberal Members of Parliament the desirability of promptly taking effective steps in this direction, co-operating as far as possible with those Scottish members who declared so emphatically in favour of national self-government."

This was, virtually, the first time for Mr. John to intervene in Welsh politics, although, as a matter of fact, he had taken some little part in Mr. Lloyd-George's election in 1906. The resolution had been preceded by a series of letters by Mr.

John, which appeared in the Welsh papers and the English dailies circulating in North and South Wales. His initial letter was based upon the manifesto published early in August by the Scottish National Committee. Shortly afterwards both the Eifion Liberal Association and the Denbigh Boroughs Liberal Association expressed their sympathy with the demand for the early granting of Welsh self-government. The intention then was to secure the formal endorsement of these proposals by and at a great gathering of the Liberalism of Wales, intended to be held in Mountain Ash, but which was for the moment abandoned, owing to the breakdown of the Conference on the constitutional question and the subsequent General Election. A similar resolution was passed at the Welsh National Liberal Council held at Mountain Ash on April 13, 1911.

That Mr. John's proposals evoked more interest than appeared on the surface is borne out by the fact that, although prior to August he was absolutely unknown in Welsh politics, he was invited during November, in most cases officially and in one case unofficially, to allow his name to go before the Liberal organisations of not less than six Welsh constituencies. The constituency for which he eventually arranged to stand was East Denbighshire. He stood there as an advocate of Federal Home Rule, and throughout his campaign he described himself as an Independent Welsh Nationalist, rather than a conventional Liberal. That his policy appealed to the electors of East Denbighshire is abundantly demonstrated by the fact that, although a complete stranger with little more than a fortnight to make the acquaintance of the electors, he was returned by a very substantial majority, the exact figures being: E. T. John (L.), 6449; A. Hood (U.), 3186;—Liberal majority, 3263. The attitude of the Press in Wales in general, and of the *South Wales Daily News* in particular, has been cordial and sympathetic towards the movement.

An organisation, independent of the movement initiated by Mr. John, and entitling itself "The Welsh Nationalist League," has come into existence, with a view to uniting the progressive forces in Wales, Liberalism and Labour, in favour

of Welsh domestic autonomy; and incidentally the conversion in Parliament of the Welsh representatives to a policy of real independence. This league has about three hundred members. It does not seem to have much responsible or effective public opinion behind it.

As to the constitution of the proposed Welsh Independent Legislature, it is claimed that it should be formed on a thoroughly democratic basis, elected by the great body of the Welsh people, and empowered to legislate on domestic matters; the term "domestic" to be very generously interpreted. What it is proposed to leave to the Imperial Legislature is the power of amendment and veto, so far as domestic affairs are concerned. The Imperial Legislature is to have no right to *initiate* legislation affecting the affairs of Wales. The domestic Parliament to have complete control of education, the regulation of the liquor traffic, administration of the poor-laws, and local government both urban and rural, determining conditions of land tenure, creating land banks, and extending the system of light railways—in a word, everything pertaining to the development of the country's natural resources.

This movement involves preference for Federal Home Rule to a separate treatment for Ireland, and it denies the claim that Ireland has a prior right to distinctive treatment. It also embraces the idea that the logic of the Welsh religious and political faith drives Welshmen to this conclusion, and that Wales, to be consistent, must seek social and economic salvation in her own Parliament. As to the county councils and other local bodies which Wales possesses at the present moment, it is argued that they do not constitute an adequate organ for national self-expression. The present House of Commons does not provide an adequate legislative articulation for Welsh national ideals, and the Welsh representation has, to all national intents and purposes, broken down. It is claimed that it is hopeless, under present conditions at Westminster, for the needs of Wales to receive adequate attention, and that some scheme of devolution is necessary as a matter of political expediency, for the efficiency of the Imperial Parliament and the good government of the Empire.

Mr. John believes that the fullest autonomy would ensure

to Wales a development entirely salutary of the moral, material, intellectual, and spiritual resources alike of the people and of the country ; that under the system of an elective second chamber, with effective power of supervision and veto over the four national chambers, Imperial unity would be absolutely maintained, and the contribution of Wales to Imperial statesmanship proper would be notable for its lofty purpose and abiding wisdom. This confidence is largely based upon the belief that the Welsh people, even among their sister nations of the United Kingdom, are conspicuously permeated by the higher wisdom inseparably associated with real devotion of spirit. Such a view of the question, and the temperate, even lofty, tone in which it is advocated, must be a matter of congratulation to every Welshman who is concerned for the honour of his country in the sphere of high politics.

It is clear, however, that this demand for Welsh autonomy creates a problem that needs study and sympathy, even more study than sympathy, for to go wrong with regard to it is to head straight for the gravest of errors and blunders. It is a problem that cannot be solved by passion, or rhetoric, or hasty generalisation—not even by conviction, however sincere that conviction may be. The desire for a Welsh Independent Parliament is not sufficient; desire may be sufficient for poems and romances. Decentralisation has its limits, and in such an Empire as the British—so vast and complicated—its dangers and defects. Local bodies do not always carry with them the highest exercise of reason and the noblest exercise of the moral sentiment. What often goes by the name of public opinion is nothing more than the organised opinion of a clique or party. Measures are advocated and enacted in the name of the public, while the moral consciousness of the public is dormant and indifferent to what is being done. *The question of Welsh Home Rule has not been sufficiently thought out by the people of Wales.* It is questionable whether they possess sufficient analytical power to survey and comprehend the general bearings of such a scheme. Welsh political thought is highly synthetic, as is the case with all nations in the infancy of their development. Home Rule is a political system that requires thorough knowledge of the science of

statistics, the power of viewing complicated data in the light of theory, care in the selection of means, and command of general principles. The Welsh people are strong in the ideal and imaginative element, but weak in the gift of analysis, and in the capacity to adjust the mental vision so as to view the whole political field. These are some of the fundamental maxims of a sound administrative capacity. Narrowness and exclusiveness—the root causes of injustices in human societies —are traditional Welsh characteristics, due partly to defective education and to a want of familiarity with other races and other modes of thought.

The demand for Welsh Home Rule is not general, it is not imperative, it is not even very articulate, at the present moment, among the general body of the people. The Welsh have a traditional reputation for chasing ideals; they soon get tired or discouraged. They are soon up and soon down, being deficient in concentration of purpose. A people so constituted, with power of idealisation and moral enthusiasm, when perverted from the lines of safe judgment, as peoples of their temperament are liable to be, is one to inspire apprehension.

Welshmen are asking, and not without reason: "If Ireland is granted Home Rule, why not Home Rule for Wales?" But they are not parallel cases. The two countries differ essentially in economic needs and in history. The needs of Wales have augmented wonderfully of late years, but not to the degree that a separate legislature is necessary to give the nation an adequate outlet for its energies. To grant Home Rule in this form solely on the ground of nationhood is not a sound political principle. There are no financial wrongs, no disabilities, and no administrative grievances that cannot be remedied under the present system. Home Rule ought not to be granted except on the basis that Wales herself can afford to pay for it. Among modern nations the desire—immoderate desire—for greater power and legislative rights follows too quickly upon the heels of a nation's revival or construction. This is pre-eminently true of Wales.

Moreover, this question of Welsh Home Rule cannot be properly considered without examining individually the

different elements that constitute the social structure. England's predominance in the councils of the nation, we are freely told in some Welsh quarters, has overreached itself, and Great Britain has had a pretty good run and should be satisfied to make room for others. Imperialism is regarded as another name for Jingoism, and Jingoism is held to be synonymous with brutal egoism and grasping avarice. Collectivism and the socialisation of land and industries are theories that find great and growing favour among the industrial workers of South Wales. There is an ominous rise of industrial sentiment against the authority of courts of justice when their decisions are unfavourable to labour. Workmen are encouraged by those who lead them to disregard the legal and traditional line that demarcates useful persuasion from illegitimate intimidation. The man who dares to differ from his fellows does so at his peril. That there are solid grievances that need to be, and must be, redressed by practical legislation is fully recognised, but Socialism, in the sense in which it is being interpreted, does not operate in the direction of a wider diffusion of freedom and prosperity for the toiler, but towards chronic disaffection and tyranny. The baser element in democracy is coming to the surface, and religious restraint is discounted. A serious problem is opening up for Labour itself as well as for the State. Those who are being led are fast passing beyond the control of those who lead them; they are losing the sense of discipline and of social order, and power is more and more being vested in them. This new industrial force is being diverted not only from the Church but from Christianity, the very power that gave dignity to labour and the labourer his freedom. It tends to weaken rather than strengthen the ties that bind together the respective members of Society. It strikes at the foundation of a stable government, for there can be no government without authority on the one hand and obedience on the other. Decentralisation would be a risky experiment within so small an area as Wales, and in the face of such conditions. Local authority would be practically powerless to enforce social order when confronted with such formidable electoral influences, animated and governed by a

type of democracy that claims not the freedom that liberates, but the freedom that fetters and destroys. This is the slime that democracy is depositing in the Welsh body politic.

The violent scenes involving the loss of lives and the destruction of property in South Wales during the general strike of August of this year is not without its significance. Much of the present unrest in the ranks of labour is undoubtedly due to economic causes, to industrial inequality, and to the effect of education upon the working classes. It has been said by some observers that the events of the month will prove a lesson to the working classes. May I respectfully suggest that it ought to prove a useful lesson to men like Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Winston Churchill, whose extreme utterances concerning capital, the land, class privileges, and the rights of workmen, are fast becoming incarnate in actions, and the end is not yet. Society is getting more complex and difficult, and men of influence who hold responsible positions under the Crown owe it to the Crown and to Society not to intensify the situation by pandering to the ignoble passions of the populace for political purposes. It is a remarkable coincidence that the man who has been, for the last few years, among the foremost in creating a spirit of discontent among the working classes, and of antagonism to capital, and to constituted conditions, should, by the irony of events, be called upon to make an effort to solve an abnormal difficulty towards the creation of which his own speeches in the country have greatly contributed.

Mr. Lloyd-George was reported in *The Times* to have referred to the Llanelly riots, in his speech in the House of Commons on August 23, in the following terms: "The officer (meaning Major Stewart) went and tried to persuade the strikers to refrain from further disturbance; he shook hands with them, and while thus engaged, bricks and stones were thrown. Where is the peaceful character of these proceedings? . . . Let us have the truth out. . . . There was undoubtedly a riot, and a very serious one. . . . The people were badly led and badly advised." Mr. George claimed to speak with "becoming gravity and restraint." It is to his credit that he did so, and he is quick to perceive the political

significance of any event or movement. However, six days afterwards he had lost all his "becoming gravity and restraint." In *The Western Mail*, a paper that is more than friendly to Mr. George, there was the following report of a speech delivered by him at Seven Sisters, South Wales, to a gathering of Nonconformists, on August 29: "Referring to the recent industrial troubles, the Chancellor said that part of the English press had referred to them in Wales as only half civilised, if they were civilised at all. They were, however, very careful in not referring to similar events which occurred at Liverpool, Belfast, and other places. The best things that these critics could do, instead of making prejudicial racial comments, would be to look at things in a spirit of sobriety. (Applause.)" Mr. George's sense of the "spirit of sobriety" may be gathered from the following part of the same speech: "There were certain people to-day who talked about Ananias. (Laughter and cheers.) Ananias was the man who made a false return of the property he had sold in order to reduce his contribution to the community to which he belonged. There were many men of that type to-day, continued the Chancellor, amid applause. There were multitudes of people in the country to-day who, in spite of the grinding toil, did not earn enough to keep body and soul together. On the other hand, there were those who toiled not, neither did they spin, and yet they had a superabundance. As long as these conditions existed, they would have those outbreaks. It would be said that he was setting class against class. That was just a parrot screech of every barren scribbler and tattler who did not possess enough imagination even to invent a new phrase of invective. (Loud applause.) If they did not earnestly set themselves to the removal of these causes, the next strike would be infinitely worse."

Thus is it possible to poison the minds of certain classes with sentiments that may appear irreproachable, but that are in reality essentially spurious.

Furthermore, there is a strong English element in the Principality, both imported and of native growth, to which Wales owes much of its commercial prosperity and enlarged mental outlook. The Welsh people are not the whole of

Wales. Welshmen could not have developed the material and economic side of Welsh life, as it has been developed, without English capital and organisation. These Englishmen have contributed largely to the advancement of the Principality. But Welsh Nationalism does not attempt to draw them sympathetically into the national cycle; on the contrary, they are being denied, on racial, political, and religious grounds, their full and legitimate share in what measure of autonomy Wales now possesses. It is natural that they should meet their effacement with resentment. It has been sought to compel their children to learn the Welsh language in the schools they are obliged by law to attend, a language in the practical value and future utility of which they do not believe —for their children and themselves at any rate. Their capacity for business and organisation has been abundantly demonstrated by the large and successful industries they have established in the country, but their religious and political proclivities, though unobtrusively expressed, have been a barrier in their way to obtain just representation in the councils of the nation. They are not even invited, though some of them are Welsh members of Parliament, either to attend or to participate in conventions and deliberations that are canonised as "National" in character and significance. They would fare worse under a system of Welsh Home Rule, for the power of those who keep them under would be increased tenfold, and the loss would be the nation's loss. This is more than a fair inference: it is a moral certainty. It is a disgrace to any community that men of recognised incapacity and general unworthiness should be selected for public positions simply because they bear the brand of the dominant party, a party that exalts its own political interest above that of the community. The advantages of Home Rule for Wales would be slight, the cost considerable and oppressive, and the chances of just and harmonious government small.

Modern Welsh Nationalism is fast losing the memory of its early virtues. It is a good thing to be National, but far better to be rational. Welsh Nationalism in its political development is becoming blatant, oppressive, and offensive.

It accentuates racial distinction for the sake of distinction, and denies to a large and a growing section of the community, by no means the least intelligent or responsible, the liberty and the opportunity for development that it claims for itself. To grant Welsh Home Rule on the basis of this negative side of Welsh Nationalism would be an injustice and a menace to the future peace of the community. If an Independent Legislature with a separate Executive is to be set up in Wales, I respectfully suggest to those who will be responsible for its enactment, that in its charter should be embodied as its constitutional principle the spirit and ideals expressed in the words that Pericles uttered over the bodies of those who had fallen during the early Peloponnesian War—

"Our form of Government does not enter into rivalry with others. While the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is recognised, and when a citizen has in any way distinguished himself, he is promoted in the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward for merit. There is no exclusiveness in our own public life, and in our private intercourse we do not have suspicions of one another, nor are we angry with our neighbours if they do what they like. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts, we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having a special regard for those which are ordained for the protection of the injured, as well as for those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment."

Wales is too small a country to legislate for itself, and its economic and political requirements are not wide and diversified enough to necessitate a separate Legislature; neither is there that general uprightness of conscience among those in whom political authority is now vested, to warrant the expectation that a happy state of affairs would result from the granting of political autonomy to the Principality.

The wisest solution of the demand for a more efficient administration of the various Acts of Parliament in Wales, as well as of the antipathy which exists in our great departments of State towards Wales and Welsh matters, would be a Welsh Office of State with a Minister responsible to the Crown for Welsh affairs—education, agriculture, local government, mining, etc. His office would be necessarily arranged in

corresponding departments, and his policy in all these matters would naturally accord with the ideas and aspirations of the Welsh people, as well as the peculiar circumstances in which they would be situated. Where now the Welsh have to go to the unnecessary expense of holding conventions and sending deputations to London and elsewhere, the Welsh Minister could, by steady and consistent work in his department, secure for Wales the rights and privileges which are now and have been for so many years enjoyed by the other constituent parts of the United Kingdom.

If Welsh Home Rule is in contemplation, it ought to be preceded by a system of Proportional Representation. Such a system is already in use in many parts of Switzerland for local elections. It is a scientific system and a just one, for it secures for each party approximately the number of members represented by the proportion of votes cast by that party. If there are eight members to be elected, any party casting one-eighth of the total votes is entitled to have its most successful candidate declared elected, even though he may stand lower than eighth on the list. In a country where parties are divided by religious and political considerations, such a system is a constitutional safeguard of the rights of the minorities. In Switzerland it secures the services of men of merit and of experience from all groups who enjoy the favour of public opinion. Thus in Switzerland is found the noblest form of democracy and the highest symbol of racial unity. The three races—German, French, and Italian—are three-in-one, which is Swiss. Wales will never become the home of a temperate democracy governed by common sense while the dominant party arrogates to itself exclusive power and authority. The assumption, creditable as it may be to those Nationalists who entertain it, that the Welsh people would govern to perfection if they only had the opportunity, is not borne out by contemporary political history.

It must also not be forgotten that Empire-opinion has travelled slowly in Wales, and that there is a listless indifference, with a tinge of disloyalty, respecting the duties as well as the rights of Wales as a unit in the Imperial system. This spirit has accumulated of late years. It needs courage to say it,

but Welsh political Nonconformity is not without responsibility in this grave matter.

The personal relations of Sovereign and people are not nowadays the determining factors in problems of State. History, however, is a potent factor in the formation of National ideals, and the Investiture of the Prince of Wales at Carnarvon on July 13, 1911, has touched the pride of a people that have seen stress of weather in abundance since the days of Romans, Saxons, and Normans. As a spectacular display the Investiture was a successful and a memorable event. Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, M.P., the Conservative leader, in his speech at the opening of the North Wales University College at Bangor on the following day, in referring to it, said: "None of us who witnessed it can forget it, and, so far as I am concerned, who could not claim to be a Welshman and who have hitherto seen but little of Wales, I can only say that what I have seen will remain imprinted upon my memory as the most remarkable, the most interesting, and the most moving of all the great historical ceremonials which it has ever been my good fortune to witness." It was a great day for Wales, and a great day for the royal guests, and especially for the young Prince, whose exquisite simplicity won the hearts of the people, and whose whole bearing will remain an example and an inspiration. But it would not be correct to say that the Investiture was a truly representative gathering of the people of Wales. Most of the cheering was done by the thousands of English and foreign visitors from beyond Offa's Dyke. It is to be regretted that the method adopted by the London Committee in the selection of guests precluded a direct representation of the great industrial and agricultural communities. The very classes—and they are numerous in Wales—whose sympathies need a loyal and a patriotic touch, and who have been loath to take their part in the wider life of the Empire, were not made to feel that they had any affinity with it. There is a mass of Welsh republican sentiment which has been consolidating itself of late years, a sentiment that has been nourished by the idea of monarchical selfishness and incapacity. No better antidote could be imagined than a closer acquaintance with King George v. A great event, which might have given a

healthy reaction towards a manlier, a more loyal and patriotic disposition, and a more serious view of imperial obligations, was, for want of courage and forethought, not made the best use of at the most plastic period in the history of the people of Wales. The King is an Imperial Imperialist, and he fortified himself with good judgment in his royal tribute to Welsh Nationalism at the Investiture, the opening of the Bangor College, and the laying of the foundation of the National Library at Aberystwyth—all in the same week. These incidents will form a new bond of union between Wales and the British Crown. It is to be hoped that the memory of it will stimulate the development of two great and ennobling thoughts in perfect harmony—the attachment among Welsh people to Wales, and the attachment of the Welsh people to the larger interests of an Empire which has been the promoter and sustainer of virtuous civilisation in every land.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WALES TO THE THOUGHT-ENERGY OF THE WORLD

THE nature and degree of a nation's influence and progress may be gauged in two ways, namely, by its cardinal and its exceptional types, the one representing the widening of its accepted positions, and the other representing the interruption of traditional thought, action, and expression. It is not necessary here to discuss the question as to which of the two has been the more fruitful and epoch-making. Enough has been written to give the reader some idea of their relative proportion—the aim and capacity of each—in the history of the Welsh nation. My main purpose, however, is to depict the influence of Welsh thought on the intellectual and scientific development of the world, by the light of the careers of certain powerful Welsh intellects who have broken with the native consecutiveness of thought and of action. No room can, therefore, be found for many clear and well-defined personalities, whose sterling qualities and unquestionable worth of heart and of mind constitute permanent landmarks in the evolution of Welsh life. It is obvious from the analysis of the nation's early life that I have made, that only a few commanding careers can be produced as illustrations. The treatment may be disappointing to those who hold an exaggerated and disproportioned idea of Wales as a factor in the moulding of contemporary thought, and in the maintenance of an exalted standard of culture and of scholarship. It is one of the misfortunes of Wales to have occupied herself so exclusively with one particular phase of thought—theological ideas. The religious atmosphere has been essentially the national atmosphere. Certain changes are coming over the country that are

affecting the attitude of the rising generation towards religion, or religion as it is represented in its present organised form. The scientific development of Wales is now proceeding on more divergent paths; but Welsh thought continues to be more sharply defined in the sphere of religion than in any other direction.

In my previous works I have dealt with those who have been the main factors in the regeneration of the Principality, and whose fame has been almost exclusively confined to Welsh-speaking men and women, both at home and abroad. It is my purpose, in this chapter, to deal with those Welshmen whose fame has travelled beyond the confines of the Principality, and who have distinguished themselves by powers of speech, of song, of learning, and of statesmanship. I do not propose to give a complete list of even those that may be legitimately entitled to be designated as "Eminent Welshmen." It would be impossible in a work of this kind, even if my knowledge were far more full and accurate than it is. Certain types have been selected to illustrate certain forces, both in the field of thought and of action. It will give those who are unacquainted with the country and the people an idea of the waves of thought that have gone out of Wales to enrich the literature of the world and to further the progress of civilisation. The selection may be open to criticism, for it is within the province of the reader to judge as to whether the careers that have been taken are the best for the purposes of illustration. I doubt whether any two Welshmen could be found who would agree on such a question; and the man who could reconcile them would himself be worthy of eminence. It is useless to censure an author for not doing something that does not come within the scope of his scheme. The adoption, however, has not been actuated by any narrow view of the determining bias of Welsh mentality; it is entirely a matter of judgment.

Among antiquarians may be mentioned Sir John Price, a native of Breconshire, who was one of the most noted antiquarians of his time. From his pen came a Welsh translation of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, etc., in the year 1546. His claim to a place in this chapter rests not

so much on the little Welsh booklet of 1546, as upon his *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio*, 1573; his *Description of Cambria*, prefixed to Powell's *History*, 1584; and other works. Sir John was on terms of friendship with the Earl of Pembroke, and was brought to the notice of King Henry VIII. He took a prominent part in the union between England and Wales, and either drafted or suggested the petition praying for annexation.

Humphrey Llwyd, of Denbigh, born 1527, was one of the best known of sixteenth-century British antiquaries. Among other works he wrote *Commentarioli Britannicæ descriptionis fragmentum* (Cologne, 1572). Of this an English version by Thomas Twyne was published in 1573, under the title *The Breuiary of Britaine.* He wrote also the two tracts appended to Sir John Price's *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio* (1573), namely, *De Mona Druidum Insula* and *De Armamentario Romano.* His chief work, however, as antiquarian, is *The historie of Wales* (1584), which is chiefly a translation of Caradoc of Llancarfan's *Brut y Tywysogion.* Llwyd, dying in 1568, left this work unfinished, but at the solicitation of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Marches, Dr. David Powell of Ruabon saw it through the press, supplying the deficiency and adding many valuable annotations, etc. This *Historie of Cambria* reached its eighth edition in 1832.

John Aubrey, born at Easton Pierce in Wiltshire, in the year 1625, was a descendant of the Aubreys of Llanfrynach, Breconshire. He was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, being elected 1662. He assisted Dugdale in his compilation of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*; and, by command of Charles II., he wrote an account of the megalithic remains at Avebury. His antiquarian researches in Surrey were published in five volumes, and a similar collection for Wilts was privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1821. The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford contains many unpublished MSS. of Aubrey.

Edward Lhuyd, born in 1660, was the son of Edward Lhuyd, of Oswestry. He was a great Celtic scholar, and the precursor of modern scientific and comparative philology, whose great work, *Archæologia Britannica*, appeared in 1707. His University (Oxford) conferred upon him the honorary degree

of M.A. in 1701, and he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1708, in recognition of his great contributions to philology and natural science. The appearance of the *Archæologia Britannica* marks a new epoch in the history of Welsh philology. By his comparative method of treatment he discovered Grimm's Law more than a century before Grimm formulated it. He made a special study of the primitive languages and customs of the British Isles, and his observations on natural history, in connection with these studies, were published in the *Philosophical Transactions.* He died 1709.

William Baxter, nephew of Richard Baxter, the celebrated divine, born at Llanllugan, Montgomeryshire, in the year 1650, was an antiquarian of some distinction. Among his published works were *De Analogia seu Arte Latinæ Linguæ Commentariolus*, 1679; an edition of *Horace*, 1701; *Dictionary of British Antiquities*, 1719; *Glossary of Roman Antiquities*, 1726.

The Welsh contribution to this branch of research is of a very limited character. There are other Welsh antiquarians, but their names would be merely of local interest. The five that I have mentioned are the only ones that seem worthy of notice in this connection.

Among diplomats there are three of the first rank that we may rightly claim to be of Welsh parentage.

Sir Arthur Paget, born in 1771, is one of them. He was the second son of the first Earl of Uxbridge, and a brother of the first Marquis of Anglesey. He represented Anglesey in the House of Commons, 1794–1807. In 1794 he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Berlin. He acted in the same capacity at Naples in 1800, and at Vienna in 1801. In 1807 he acted as Ambassador to Turkey. One of his sons, the Right Hon. Sir Augustus Berkeley Paget, born 1823, was Minister to Denmark, 1858; Portugal, 1866; Italy, 1867. He acted as Ambassador to Italy, 1876–83, and to Austria, 1884.

Sir Charles Richard Vaughan, born in 1774, the son of James Vaughan, a Welsh surgeon at Leicester, served as secretary to the Embassy at Madrid for some years, and was

appointed secretary to the British Embassy at Paris, 1820. In 1823 he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Confederated State of the Swiss Cantons. On March 23, 1825, he was accredited Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, and in 1826 he was made a member of the Privy Council. He filled the position of Ambassador at Constantinople, 1837–41. He was rewarded with the highest rank of knighthood.

Sir Henry Watkin Williams Wynn, born 1783, third son of Sir W. Williams Wynn, Bart. of Wynnstay, began his diplomatic career as a junior clerk in the Foreign Office, January 1799. In 1801 Lord Grenville, who was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, employed him in the capacity of private secretary. In April 1803 he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of the Elector of Saxony. In 1822 he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland. In February 1823 he was transferred to Wurtemburg, and in 1824 to Denmark, which position he held for a period of nineteen years.

There are other Welsh civil servants who occupied minor positions in the diplomatic service, among whom may be mentioned Sir Harford Brydge-Jones, Bart., son of Harford Jones, of Presteign, Radnorshire, who was born in 1764. From 1807 to 1811 he was Ambassador to the Court of Persia, and was appointed a member of the Privy Council in 1835.

George Stepney, born 1663, a member of a well-known Welsh family at Prendergast, in Pembrokeshire, was sent by Queen Anne, in 1706, as Envoy to the States-General; he was employed in several other embassies. He was also a writer of some note on political subjects. Among his published works may be mentioned his *Essay on the Present Interest of England*, which was supplemented by his *Proceedings of the House of Commons*, in the year 1677. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Richard Woosnam, born 1815, son of Bowen Woosnam, of Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, acted as private secretary to Sir Henry Pottinger during the Chinese War of 1842. At the conclusion of the treaty of peace he received a medal

in recognition of his services, and was appointed Assistant Secretary of Legation to the British Mission. He subsequently filled the offices of Deputy Colonial Secretary of Hong-Kong, and Secretary to the High Commission to the Cape of Good Hope, under Sir Henry Pottinger, in 1846.

In the list of Governors who have served under the British Crown may be mentioned, Henry Morgan (the Buccaneer), Governor of Jamaica under Charles II.; William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, who was of Welsh extraction; and Roger Williams, the founder of the State of Rhode Island.

Richard Phillipps, born 1651, the second son of Richard Phillipps, of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, was Governor of Nova Scotia, 1720–30.

Sir Josiah Rees, the son of Dr. Thomas Rees, a Unitarian minister and author, who held the pastorates of Newington Green and St. Thomas's Chapel, Southwark, London, was at one time Governor of the Bermudas.

Sir Thomas Picton, K.C.B., born 1758, the son of John Picton, of Poyston, Pembrokeshire, was appointed Governor of Trinidad, 1797.

In the sphere of politics and statesmanship there is much that stands to the credit of Wales.

John Williams, the seventeenth-century Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (Lord Chancellor) and Archbishop of York, was a Conway thoroughbred Welshman. He was the son of gentle parents, was educated at Ruthin, and graduated at Cambridge. He knew Welsh, and spoke it; he was lineally descended from Welsh people on *both sides*. Irresponsible statements have been circulated by Welshmen of a certain class to the effect that Mr. Lloyd-George is the first Welsh-speaking Welshman to occupy Cabinet rank. John Williams must be considered a member of the Cabinet, *i.e.* the "Cabinet" as then known, because he was great in the Star Chamber, and in all the secret councils and cabals of the King and State. To attain Cabinet rank in those days was a much greater achievement than it is to-day.

There are two who have been Speakers of the House of Commons.

Sir William Williams, Bart., born in 1634 at Nantanog, Llantrisant, Anglesey, was in 1667 made Recorder of Chester, and represented Chester, the Borough of Beaumaris, and the county of Carnarvon, in Parliament. He acted as Speaker of the House of Commons, 1679–81. He was Solicitor-General, 1687–89, and was created a baronet, 1688.

Sir John Trevor, the son of John Trevor, of Brynkinallt, in the county of Denbighshire, was born in the year 1637. The rapidity of his rise to eminence may be gauged from the fact that when he went to London as clerk to his uncle, Arthur Trevor, who was a barrister, he could not speak a correct sentence in English. Yet, at the age of forty-one he was King's Counsel; and having obtained a seat in the House of Commons, was elected Speaker in 1685 in James II.'s only Parliament; and at the accession of William III. he was re-elected. He was appointed Master of the Rolls in the same year. On being reported to the House for having received a bribe for interesting himself in a Bill promoted by the City of London, he had to undergo the humiliation of declaring himself guilty from the Speaker's chair. He was obliged to resign, and was expelled from the House. But it should be stated that there was no suspicion attached to his Mastership of the Rolls, and that office he was permitted to retain.

There have been four Speakers who have been claimed to be Welsh—Robert Harley, the famous Earl of Oxford, first Minister in the reign of Queen Anne; John Smith, who succeeded him in 1705; Sir John Pickering (a famous Speaker in Elizabeth's reign); and Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., who married the Duchess of Grafton. But Harley belonged to an old French family, and had no connection with Wales beyond the fact that he once represented Radnorshire in Parliament, and was appointed "Custos Rotulorum" for that county. Smith belonged to an old English family, and in no way deserves the title of Welshman. Pickering has been supposed to be Welsh simply because it is said he once represented Carmarthen. Hanmer, it is true, was born at Bettisfield Park, Flintshire, in 1677, and was unanimously appointed Speaker in 1714; but that is the extent of his claim to be Welsh.

Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, the son of Sir Watkin

Williams Wynn, was nominated for the Speakership in 1817, but was defeated by Mr. Manners Sutton, the Ministerial candidate. He was born at Wynnstay, near Wrexham, in 1775. He entered Parliament in the year 1796, and represented the county of Montgomery until his death, 1850. He was offered the post of Governor-General of India, but declined. He served for a few months as Secretary for War in Earl Grey's Administration, but tendered his resignation on the introduction of the Reform Bill. He held many important offices, such as Commissioner of Public Records, Metropolitan Commissioner of Lunacy; and he was President of the Board of Control from 1822 to 1828.

There have been three Welsh Chancellors of the Exchequer. One was Sir John Awbrey, Bart. He was a native of Glamorgan, and a scion of an aristocratic family; at one time he represented the county of Buckingham. He was made First Lord of the Admiralty in 1782, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1783, and a member of the Cabinet. There is some doubt as to whether Awbrey could speak in Welsh, being regarded as a Normanised Vale of Glamorgan man.

Another was Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., born in 1806. He was the son of Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis, of Harpton Court, Radnorshire. Sir George was an authority on various problems of administration, and his successive reports took rank as valuable State papers. In 1833 he was appointed an Assistant Commissioner to inquire into the state of the poorer classes in Ireland. In 1834 he was made a Commissioner to inquire into religious and other instruction in Ireland. In 1836 he was made Joint Commissioner to inquire into the affairs of Malta. In 1839 he was chosen to fill the place, vacated by his father, on the new Poor Law Commission for England and Wales, and this post he held until 1847, when he resigned. He took up political life in 1847, when he was returned as Liberal member for Herefordshire. In November of the same year he was appointed one of the Secretaries to the Board of Control, then administering the affairs of India. In May 1848 he was transferred to the Under-Secretaryship of the Home Office; in July 1850 he was made Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He lost

his seat during the election of 1852, and, after unsuccessfully contesting Peterborough, he accepted the editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*. He was offered, in 1853, the Governorship of Bombay, which he declined. In January 1855, on his father's death, he took the seat for the Radnor boroughs, which he retained until his death. He re-entered parliamentary life at a very critical period. Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister, with Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Three weeks later Gladstone resigned, and Lewis took his place March 5, 1855, remaining in office for three years. Lewis ceased to be Chancellor in the early part of 1858 owing to the defeat of Palmerston on a Bill relating to the Law of Conspiracy, and a Conservative Government came into power in February of the same year; but it only lasted till the spring of 1859. A General Election followed, and in the new Parliament a vote of censure against the Government was carried, Lord Palmerston again becoming Prime Minister. Lewis had consented to act as Chancellor of the Exchequer; but immediately his decision was made known, it was announced that Gladstone was willing to take the position. Lewis at once gave way, accepting the position of Home Secretary. The office did not prove a congenial one to a man of his temperament, and in 1861 he became Secretary of State for War, which also proved distasteful to him. There is one memorial to his sagacity as a statesman: by the Act passed June 5, 1855, he abolished the special stamp duty imposed on newspapers.

In spite of his distinguished parliamentary career, and of the fact that he represented the Radnor boroughs for eight years, there was nothing characteristically Welsh in his ideals, temperament, or political aims; and his knowledge of Welsh was only colloquial. There is no evidence that he recognised the idea of a Celtic revival, or of Welsh nationality. He died four years before the creation of a Welsh party became possible through the Reform Act of 1867. The modern Welsh question, which means really a group of questions, including Education, Disestablishment, Home Rule, and other issues, was not then within the range of practical politics. Wales was not then confronted with the religious difficulty in

any acute form, and Welsh nationalism in his day was an unborn force. Lewis was a loyal Churchman and a true Briton. There was in him a combination of qualities that are as valuable as they are rare. He combined a literary talent of a high order with a legislative talent of a sound and thorough character. He was sane, and master both of his subject and of his temper. He never affronted or embittered anybody, and never indulged in any fierce threats. He parried, not with gusto, yet with deadly effect. The kid glove did not diminish the effectiveness of the blow; it only stripped it of its grimness. He was never confused, for he was always accurate and well informed; and his aspect was conspicuously noble. He was urbane, imperturbable, gravely genial, and full of graceful *politesse*. His utterance was deliberate and characterised by modesty and strength. He added to the dignity of the Chancellor's office, and to the lustre of political life; he also upheld the high traditions of British statesmanship. He died April 23, 1863.

The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. D. Lloyd-George, is the very antithesis to Sir George Cornewall Lewis. Two men more dissimilar in gifts, ideals, education, temperament, and ambition cannot very well be imagined. Sir George brought nothing to the test of feeling, but everything to the test of reason. He had none of the average Welshman's exclusiveness, none of his passion, and none of his insularity. Mr. Lloyd-George, on the other hand, is a typical Welshman, and combines in himself both the weakness and the strength of the Celtic character. Unlike Sir George Cornewall Lewis, he has been intimately associated with modern Welsh nationalism in its most turbulent and aggressive form. He has gathered into himself the thoughts and yearnings, the faith and hope of his people; he has organised and unified them, and even put them in motion. He is the son of the late William George, master of Hope Street Unitarian Schools, Liverpool, and Margaret, the daughter of Richard Owen, Mynydd Ednyfed, Criccieth, North Wales. He was born at Manchester in 1863. But Wales has been his home through life; and in the common schools of Wales he was educated. His rise to eminence is one of the most

remarkable achievements of this generation. He has been the storm centre of the most revolutionary period in the history of modern England. As I have already observed in this chapter, Mr. Lloyd-George is not the first Welshman to attain parliamentary distinction, neither is he the first Welsh-speaking Welshman to attain Cabinet rank, and there are very serious differences of opinion as to his capabilities as a financier, his political morals, and his platform methods. It is claimed on his behalf that economic developments have made this new type of statesmanship, represented in his Budget of 1909, necessary and inevitable. His first experience of Crown office was as President of the Board of Trade in 1905. In that capacity he won a great reputation for himself, though it is but just to observe that his railway settlement of 1907, which brought him so much credit, and on the strength of which he climbed to high office, was the source of all the subsequent troubles which culminated in the disastrous strikes of August 1911. His desire to do good things has given him a reputation for constructive statesmanship which is not borne out by closer acquaintance. He has the gift of giving the impression of success both in the field of legislation and administration, and of implying the possession of economic knowledge which is beyond his reach and experience. He plays too many parts to be solid in any, and takes too one-sided a view of national dangers and duties, with the result that his "remedies" and "settlements" are cumbrous, inequitable, and inefficient for the purpose. His amendment of the Patents Bill, Merchant Shipping Bill, London Port Bill, and Old Age Pensions Act, are the most popular legislation of his life, and his London Port Bill showed exceptional practical insight, as well as courage. His National Insurance Bill of 1911, in its conception, does more credit to his heart than to his statesmanship. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Asquith Administration, he has exhibited Socialistic tendencies of a very distinct and far-reaching character. His Newcastle speeches, in their tenor, spirit, and effect, were unparalleled in the history of British politics, and greatly at variance with the historic tradition of public political life, and brought

him to the gaze of the whole of England and of Europe He stood forth as a political Nihilist who feared nothing bowed to nothing, and believed in nothing save — himself. Those who still honestly differ from him feel that he has struck a serious blow at the general repute of British statesmanship and that he has produced evils of an even more grave and permanent character than those he has sought to remove. His legislative efforts have been characterised as summary legislation with the maximum of disturbance to existing interests. In the election of January 1910 he lost much of his frankincense; and though it resulted in a victory for the combined Radical forces, the result, if it meant anything, meant a call for greater moderation. Mr. Lloyd-George has developed into the most important Minister in the British Government of this day, and virtually the dictator of its policy. As a strategist he has no compeer in this generation. He is a plebeian by birth, a demagogue by temperament, and a republican by political faith. Regarded exclusively as a psychological problem, he is one of the most interesting phenomena in the political world of this day. He is supremely smart, though devoid of distinct intellectuality. There is about him an occasional spark of genius, and some of his phrases have become current coins, and will live in political history. The phrase, "Backwoodsman," attributed to him, though it was first used by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, is an example. He is quick in the gift of verbal art, and has a consummate capacity, when embarrassed, of taking refuge in irrelevancy. He seldom affects the logical form of argument, and his mind is of the inconsequential type. His speeches do not evince any emphatic economic reasoning, and his passion is more fictitious than authentic. It is genuine, vehement, and convincing when he is thrown back upon his own resources, in defence of himself. He is an intense personality, and he expresses himself intensely. There are two psychological facts of peculiar interest in his character, namely, his hatred of coercion and his undoubted exercise of it when anything stands in the way of the fulfilment of his ambition. He has the easy bonhomie of good-nature, which makes him a charming companion and a welcome guest, but it would be risky to go

bail for his urbanity that it would survive contradiction or circumstances of irritation. His services to Wales are not commensurate either with his ability or his opportunity; but he has indirectly done more for Wales in another sense than any other Parliamentarian, both past and present. He has given it a greater prominence among the kindred Celtic races, and there are more Welshmen in the Administration with which he is associated than there have been in any other. It would not be correct to designate him as a Welsh patriot, for the interests of his own career have vastly overshadowed the interests of his country. He is essentially a politician, and he has left permanent traces on the legislation of the British Empire. He will go down to posterity as the most conspicuous Welsh representative of this age, and the most remarkable political figure since the days of Lord Randolph Churchill. He owes much of his real and seeming success to the unaccountable indulgence of his political opponents. He will rank as the most powerful demagogue on the platform and empiric in the Government of his day and generation.

Benjamin Hall, born 1802, known as Lord Llanover, is a man to whom the Welsh are indebted for his insistence on the right of the Welsh to have the services of the Church rendered in their own tongue. He was the son of Benjamin Hall, M.P., of Hensol Castle, Glamorganshire, his mother being the daughter of William Crawshay, of Cyfarthfa, Glamorganshire. He served as President of the Board of Health in the Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, and was made Chief Commissioner of Works in 1855.

Sir George Osborne Morgan, Bart., author of *Chancery Acts and Orders*, which passed through six editions, was a politician of high standing, who rendered signal service to the Principality. He represented Denbighshire, and it was through his instrumentality that the Burials Bill became law in 1880, when he was made Judge-Advocate-General. His handling of the Married Women's Property Bill was a credit to his ability as a lawyer, and his gifts as a parliamentarian. He was Under-Secretary for the Colonies 1885–6, and he was the means of founding the Emigration Inquiry Office. He died 1897.

Henry Richard, born at Tregaron, Cardiganshire, April 3, 1812, rightly claims a place in the catalogue of those Welshmen whose fame is European. He was not without some influence on the conduct of statesmen, both in England and on the Continent. No unofficial Englishman was ever received with greater cordiality in the cities of Europe. It would not be quite proper to designate him as a Welsh patriot: he was essentially a Radical whose field of action was the world. It was as Secretary to the Peace Society, a position to which he was appointed on May 22, 1848, that he came into fame. That was a time of great disquietude both in Europe and in America, and Mr. Richard, in conjunction with Mr. Elihu Burritt and Mr. Joseph Sturge, set to work to arrange a series of peace conferences, first in Brussels, then in Paris, Frankfort, London, Manchester, and Edinburgh. These conferences were attended by men speaking different languages, living under different forms of government, and holding diverse political opinions. He, in conjunction with Mr. Burritt, interviewed the most eminent leaders of political and religious thought in that generation, among them being M. Emile Girardin, the most powerful journalist in Paris; M. Bastiat, the distinguished writer on political economy; M. Coquerel, the eloquent Protestant orator; M. de Lamartine, once Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. de Tocqueville, and M. Carnot. The Congress assembled, August 22, 1849, in the Salle St. Cecil, under the presidency of Victor Hugo. Cobden and many other men of eminence were present. Seven hundred delegates from England and America were assembled together. It was mainly through the influence of these two men that the Peace Society came to occupy such a commanding position before the world. When the Crimean War came to an end in the year 1856, Mr. Richard organised an influential deputation to wait upon Lord Palmerston to urge upon him the wisdom of proposing, at the Conference then sitting at Paris, some system of international arbitration that would be accepted as the law of Europe. Palmerston gave him no encouragement, but Henry Richard induced both Mr. Sturge and Mr. Charles Findley, the then member for Ashton, to accompany him to

Paris, to present a memorial to the several Powers, through their plenipotentiaries, urging that the interests of nations should be brought within the cognizance of certain fixed rules of right and justice. Lord Clarendon, upon whom the deputation waited at Paris, succeeded in getting the Conference to pass a resolution which was a *qualified* disapproval of resort to arms. True, it was only a resolution, and was not in any sense binding, but both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Derby referred to it as a distinct step forward in the interests of international peace and civilisation. When Disraeli had cast the die in favour of a great Imperial policy for England, and decided to secure a scientific frontier for India, the country was in a state of perpetual excitement. The Cabinet was divided, and diplomacy seemed powerless. A great anti-Turkish Conference was held at St. James's Hall. Mr. Henry Richard was one of the most conspicuous figures at that Conference, and he asked the assembly to declare that not one penny of British money, not one drop of British blood, should be spent in upholding the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Henry Richard was not the first pioneer of international peace, but he was among the foremost of that noble band. He died August 20, 1888.

Lord Aberdare's Welsh blood was inherited from his father's grandmother, Jane Lewis, of the family of Lewis, of Llanishen, with which, we are told, modern research has connected Oliver Cromwell. He represented, in Parliament, both a Welsh and a Scottish constituency. In November 1862 he took office as Under-Secretary for the Home Department in Lord Palmerston's last Ministry, the Home Secretary being Sir George Grey. The most important legislative measure with which he was concerned, as Home Secretary, was the extension of the Factory Acts to the pottery districts. In April 1864 he became Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on Education, and continued in that office till the fall of Lord Palmerston's Ministry in June 1866. He did much to help on the great educational movement which found expression in the Elementary Education Act of 1870. He was Home Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's first Administration until the reconstruction of the Ministry in August 1873. He

passed a Licensing Bill regulating the hours of closing and making provision for the more orderly conduct of public-houses; but his most considerable legislative achievements were the Trades Union Act of 1871 and the Mines Regulation Act of 1872. At the end of the session of 1873 he succeeded Lord Ripon as President of the Council, and was raised to the Peerage as Lord Aberdare. He held this office till the fall of the Gladstone Ministry in the following spring. That ended his career as a Minister of the Crown, for he was excluded from Gladstone's second Administration in 1880. For the remaining twenty-one years of his life, he attended the sittings of the House of Lords, taking his share of work on committees. On the nomination of successive Governments, he presided over Royal Commissions on Noxious Vapours (1876), Reformatory and Industrial Schools (1881), and The Aged Poor (1893). He was Chairman of the Departmental Committee to inquire into the conditions of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, and to recommend measures for its improvement. The Committee was appointed August 25, 1880, and the Report was published August 18, 1881. It created a new era in the history of higher education in Wales, and led to the establishment of a University College for North Wales, and another for South Wales. The honour of originating the movement belongs more to the late Sir Hugh Owen than to Lord Aberdare; but he contributed materially to the findings of the Committee, and to the work of carrying its recommendation into effect. He did much good work in Wales and for Wales, and left his mark on the legislative enactments of Great Britain; but his chief value to his native land was in the influence that he had, outside the Principality, among statesmen and leaders of thought. He did much in that way towards securing a respectful hearing, and a sympathetic treatment, of the educational needs and aspirations of the Welsh people. He was born April 16, 1815; died February 25, 1895.

No comparative study of Welsh political personalities would be complete without a most generous reference to the great services of the late Thomas E. Ellis, M.P. for Merioneth. He was born February 16, 1859, at Cynlas, Llandderfel, in

East Merioneth. No other Welshman dead or living is held in higher or more general esteem. To his efforts, mainly, Wales is indebted for the inquiry, by a Royal Commissioner, into the condition of the Welsh agricultural labourer, and the appointment of the Land Commission. To him also, in a large measure, is due the credit for the passing of the Intermediate Education Act. He may also be rightly placed among the first founders of the Welsh University. He did much to promote the inquiry into Welsh charities, and pleaded, though in vain, for a proper administration of the Welsh Crown lands. As Junior Lord of the Treasury, Junior and Chief Whip of the Liberal Party, he did good service. Though his appointment proved a source of great satisfaction to the generality of the Welsh people, yet his acceptance of an administrative post did not seem consistent with the principles and the programme which he had laid down in his memorable speech at Bala. It is a historical fact that most of the causes for which he pleaded made but little progress after his identification with the Liberal Administration. He did not live to see any permanent results from his heavy labours on the land and Church questions; but he had the satisfaction before he died of seeing his efforts in the field of education bearing tangible fruits.

The strength of the judicial element in the Welsh character may be gauged by the judges I name, and who are either purely Welsh or of Welsh descent.

Sir Thomas Trevor, born 1658, of Trefalun, in the county of Denbigh, the son of Sir John Trevor, was made Solicitor-General in 1692 and Attorney-General in 1695. He was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being created Baron Trevor. In 1725 he was made Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain in 1727. He died 1730.

Lord Lloyd Kenyon, born 1732, at Gredington in Flintshire, the second son of Lloyd Kenyon, was made Chief Justice of Chester in 1789. In 1791 he became Attorney-General and in 1794 Master of the Rolls. In 1798 he succeeded Lord Mansfield as Lord Chief Justice and was raised to the peerage. He died 1802.

Sir William Jones, born 1746, the son of William Jones the mathematician, was a great judge and a great Oriental scholar. At the age of thirty he was appointed a Commissioner of Bankruptcy; seven years later, that is, in 1783, he was made a Judge of the Supreme Court of Bengal, when he was knighted. He knew no less than twenty-nine languages, and was regarded as the most celebrated linguist that the world had ever known up to that period. He was the originator of the Royal Asiatic Society, and arranged a complete digest of the Hindoo and Mohammedan laws. He was also the main force in bringing the English mind into a more sympathetic attitude towards our great Indian Dependency. There is a monument to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral, a marble statue in Oxford, and another in Bengal. His services to Oriental literature are the admiration of the world. He died 1794.

Sir James Knight Bruce, born 1791, was another Welshman on his mother's side who added lustre to the judicial bench. He was the son of John Knight, of Devonshire, and of Margaret, daughter of William Bruce, of Llanblethian, Glamorganshire. He was called to the Bar at the age of twenty-six. He at once showed a profound knowledge of law; and on account of the great and rapid increase of his Chancery practice, he was obliged to confine himself to the Equity Court, and abandon the Common-Law Bar. For a short time he represented Bishop's Castle in Parliament, in the Conservative interest; but he gave up parliamentary life when the borough was disfranchised by the Reform Bill. In 1842 he was made a member of the Privy Council, and Chief Judge in Bankruptcy. Upon the creation of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, he was appointed one of the first Lord Justices. He died 1866.

Sir John Powell, born in 1645 at Gloucester, was appointed a Puisne Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1686, transferred to the King's Bench in 1687, and in 1688 was offered, but rejected, the position of the Lord Chancellorship. He was dismissed for declaring against the dispensing power at the trial of the Seven Bishops. At that celebrated trial there were two other Welshmen besides himself, namely,

William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, one of the accused, and Sir William Williams, the then Solicitor-General, who acted as Counsel for the Crown. In March 1689 King William III. granted Sir John Powell a fresh patent as one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, and in June 1702 Queen Anne placed him in the Court of the Queen's Bench, a position which he occupied until his death in 1713.

Sir Richard Richards, born 1752, the son of Thomas Richards of Dolgelly, became Chief Justice of Chester 1813, one of the Barons of the Exchequer 1814, and Lord Chief Baron of the same Court 1817. He often presided as Speaker or Lord Chancellor of the House of Lords in the absence of Lord Eldon. He died 1823.

Sir William David Davies, born 1760, was appointed first Stipendiary Magistrate of Manchester in 1813, and Vice-Chancellor for the County Palatine of Lancaster in 1815, holding both offices concurrently. He was the author of several legal works of standard merit, such as *A Treatise on the Law of Obligations and Contracts, from the French of Pothier*; *A General View of the Decisions of Lord Mansfield in Civil Causes*, etc. He died 1821.

Sir Edward Vaughan Williams, born 1797, the son of John Williams, of Job's Well, near Carmarthen, was an eminent lawyer who became serjeant-at-law 1794. Sir Edward was called to the Bar 1823, and was made Puisne Judge of the Court of Common Pleas 1846, receiving the honour of knighthood 1847. He was elected a Privy Councillor and member of the Judicial Committee in 1865. His *Treatise on the Law of Executors and Administrators*, which has passed through very many editions, is considered a standard work. He was the father of the present Sir Roland Vaughan Williams, one of the Lord Chief Justices of Appeal, and Chairman of the Welsh Church Commission, 1906–10.

Among the living judges that deserve to be ranked in this category are the Right Hon. Sir Roland Vaughan Williams, now Judge of the Supreme Court, and Sir Samuel T. Evans, President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Court.

As to Welsh military men, there are a few of real distinction. There is Caradog, the son of Cynfelyn, who for

many years kept the Roman power at bay in the first century, and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyllt, Prince of Wales, in the eleventh century (1039–63), who, but for the treachery of a few of his followers, would have done for Harold before 1066, when the latter was conquered at Hastings. The mainstay of the Barons in their struggle with John over the Magna Charta was Llywelyn Fawr, Prince of Wales in 1194–1240, who, after the death of John, cornered his successor, Henry III., and who, but for his politic manœuvres for a peaceful reign side by side with England, could have ended Henry III.'s life. Owen of Wales (Owen de Galles), the Englishman's terror, was one of the most brilliant of European generals in the Mediæval Ages. Owain Glyn Dwr was known by fame to the kings and ruling monarchs of his day; and his meteoric triumphs over Bolingbroke are common history. It is a singular fact that Glyn Dwr, as is clear from a letter he addressed to the King of France in 1405, actually projected the establishment of two universities in Wales.

Oliver Cromwell's Welsh extraction does not admit of any doubt. He was descended from Morgan Williams, a Glamorganshire Welshman, who married the sister of Thomas Cromwell, the minister of Henry VIII. The name Williams appeared in his marriage settlement, and he used it concurrently with that of Cromwell. His son, Richard, who was born in 1626, adopted his mother's maiden surname, though he subscribed himself as "Cromwell, *alias* Williams." After the Restoration of Charles II., some members of the Cromwell family resumed the name of Williams.

Among Welsh military men less known to fame, but who deserve to be noticed in this connexion on account of their distinguished services to the British Crown, may be mentioned:—

Sir Edward Paget, born 1775. He was the fourth son of the Earl of Uxbridge, and a brother of the first Marquis of Anglesey. He entered the army 1792. He served in Flanders, Holland, and Gibraltar, and was present at the action off Cape St. Vincent. He was associated with Sir John Moore in Spain; he commanded the reserve at Corunna on February 16, 1809, and to him was due the victorious

issue of the battle. In recognition of this and other services, he received a medal, and was appointed to the staff of the Peninsular army under Wellesley, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the East Indies, and was made G.C.B. in 1812. He died 1849.

Sir Stapleton Cotton, born in 1773 in Denbighshire, began active service in the Peninsular War, and in 1810 was given the command of the cavalry of the allied forces in Spain. He fought at Salamanca, Talavera, and Toulouse. He commanded the cavalry of the army of occupation in France after Waterloo. He captured Bhartpur in 1826. He was Commander of the Forces in the West Indies 1817–20; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland 1822–25; and Commander-in-Chief in India 1825–30. He was appointed Field-Marshal, 1855. He was created Baron Combermere in 1814, and Viscount 1827. He died 1865.

Sir Thomas Picton, G.C.B., born in 1758, was the son of John Picton, of Poyston, Pembrokeshire. He assisted Sir Ralph Abercromby in the attack on St. Lucia, in the West Indies, after which he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. He was appointed Governor of Trinidad in 1797. He was engaged in the Peninsular War, for which services he received the thanks of Parliament. He died on the field of Waterloo in 1815.

Henry Lloyd, a Welsh clergyman's son, born 1729, a native of Merioneth, was in 1760 in command of a detachment of cavalry and infantry which was intended to keep the movements of the Prussians under observation. He acted as Major-General in the war between the Turks and the Russians, and had the command of thirty thousand men in the war with Sweden. He was the author of several important works on military matters. He died 1783.

Sir William Nott, G.C.B., born 1782, at Neath, in Glamorganshire, entered the East India Company's service in 1800. He had the command of the whole of the troops in Scinde and Lower Afghanistan. In 1842, with an army of five thousand, he vanquished the enemy in the neighbourhood of Candahar, an army composed of nearly three times

as many men as his own. He received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and the East India Company provided him with an annuity of £1000, in recognition of his great services. He died at Neath in 1846.

Evan Jones, born 1771, at Gelliwig, Carnarvonshire, entered the army 1791, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He served in the West Indies under Sir Charles Grey, and both in Holland and in Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby. He was connected by marriage with Lord Chief Justice Kenyon. He died 1821.

Sir Robert Hussey Vivian, born 1802, was the son of Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, of Swansea, Glamorganshire. He took part in the capture of Rangoon, 1824. He was in command of the 10th Native Infantry at Madras, 1837. In 1841 he captured Forte Nopani, for which service he was thanked by the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor of Bombay, and was promoted Major-General. He was made K.C.B., 1857, and General, 1870. He died 1887.

Henry Watson Powell, the son of Watson Powell, and nephew of the Rev. Henry Powell, Vicar of Llangadoc, Carmarthenshire, attained the rank of General. He saw service in America in 1769, 1778, and 1781. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel in 1771, and Colonel, 1794. He was made Brevet Colonel, 1779; Major-General, 1782; Lieutenant-General, 1796; and General, 1801. He died 1814.

Sir William Jones, born 1808, the son of William Jones, of Glyn Helen, Carnarvonshire, was educated at Sandhurst, and gazetted Colonel in 1854. He was made Major-General, 1863; Lieutenant-General, 1871; and General, 1877. He rendered distinguished services during the Punjaub campaign, and commanded the 3rd Infantry Brigade in the siege of Delhi during the Mutiny. He died 1890.

Sir Herbert Benjamin Edwards, born 1820, at Frodsley, in Shropshire, was of Welsh parentage. He qualified for his cadetship in 1840, and was appointed in 1848 Aide-de-camp to Sir Hugh Gough, Commander-in-Chief of the British army in Hindustan. He served as first assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence, and was a Commissioner at Peshawur at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. Through his instrumentality

Peshawur, previously considered one of the weak British points, was made one of the strongest in India. He was made K.C.B. in 1860, and Colonel in 1861. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Cambridge, and the East India Company struck a gold medal in his honour, and provided him with a pension. He died 1868.

Charles Vanbrugh Jenkins, born 1822, was also of Welsh parentage. He was the son of Robert Jenkins, of Shrewsbury. He entered the Indian army in 1839, and served with distinction in the Afghanistan campaign of 1842, for which services he received a medal. He also received a medal for his services in the battle of Aliwal, in the Sutlej campaign of 1846; and a third medal, with two clasps, for his services in the Punjaub in 1848. He was given the bronze star for his bravery in the Gwalior campaign of 1843–4. He was made a Lieutenant-Colonel 1862, and died 1892.

There are a few naval officers of distinction.

Thomas Matthew, born 1676, a native of Llandaff, Glamorganshire, was made Captain in 1703, and Vice-Admiral in 1742, and Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean. He kept in check for eighteen months the combined fleets of France and Spain in the port of Toulon. He died 1751.

Sir Edward Hughes, born 1720, at Hereford, was made Lieutenant 1740, in recognition of his bravery at the capture of Porto Bello. He was made a Rear-Admiral in 1778, and was in chief command in the East Indies, for which he received the Order of the Bath. He was made Admiral 1793, and died 1794.

Sir Thomas Foley, born 1757, the son of John Foley, of Ridgeway, Pembrokeshire, entered the navy in 1770. His first general action was on the *America*, in the engagement between the Channel Fleet and the French Fleet, off Brest, in the year 1778. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral. He succeeded Sir George Campbell as Commander-in-Chief, 1811. He became Vice-Admiral in 1812, was nominated a K.C.B. in 1815, and G.C.B. 1820. Foley was Nelson's right-hand man in two of his greatest victories, the Nile and Copenhagen. It was to Foley, Nelson

said, at the battle of Copenhagen, "You know, Foley, I have only one eye," and putting the glass to the blind eye, "I really do not see that signal; nail mine to the mast." In 1830 he was made Governor of Portsmouth, where he died in 1833.

Frederick Jennings Thomas, born 1786, was the youngest son of Sir John Thomas, of Wenvoe Castle, Glamorganshire. He entered the navy 1799, and saw service both in America and in the West Indies. He was present at the battle of Trafalgar, being Acting-Lieutenant of the *Spartiate*. He was promoted Commander in March 1811. He died 1855, having attained the rank of Rear-Admiral.

Sir Edward William Campbell Richard Owen, born 1771, in Montgomeryshire, was the son of Captain William Owen. He entered the navy 1785, and in 1806 superintended a successful attack on Boulogne. In 1809 he accompanied the expedition to Walcheren. He was made Knight Commander of the Bath in 1815, Colonel of Marines 1821, obtaining Flag rank 1825. The Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath was conferred upon him in 1846. He was made Surveyor-General of Ordnance 1827. He died 1849.

William FitzWilliam Owen, born 1773, was the son of Captain William Owen, of Manchester. He entered the navy 1788, and after seeing much active service on the West and East Coasts of Africa, and in the Ashantee War, he attained the rank of Vice-Admiral. In conjunction with Captain Horsborough, he compiled the *Oriental Navigator*, and devoted his leisure time to correcting charts, and was made a Fellow of the Astronomical Society. He died 1857.

Sir Charles Paget, born 1778, was the son of the first Marquis of Anglesey. He entered the navy 1790. He commanded the *Brilliant* in the English Channel 1798–1801, and the *Superb* in the Bay of Biscay, and on the North American coast, 1812–14. In 1819 he was nominated K.C.B., and in 1823 was made Rear-Admiral, and Vice-Admiral 1837. He died 1839.

Arthur Herbert, known as the Earl of Torrington, was the son of Sir Edward Herbert, who came of a Montgomeryshire family. Early in his naval career he came under the observation of James, Duke of York, who made him

Commander of one of the warships. He commanded the *Pembroke* in the first and second Dutch Wars. He was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty by William III., and was made Baron Torbay and Earl of Torrington for his services during the Revolution of 1688. He received the thanks of the House of Commons for his services. He died 1716.

Sir Richard Hughes, Bart., the son of Richard Hughes, of Deptford, traced his pedigree to Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, Prince of Powys. He was second in command under Lord Howe at the relief of Gibraltar. He captured the *Solitaire*, and conquered the French in the fight off the Barbadoes 1782. He attained the rank of Admiral, and died in 1812.

The Welsh are not strong in exploration; but there are two explorers that are worthy of mention, and one of them of world-wide fame. Sir William Edward Parry, born in 1790, the son of Dr. Caleb Hillier Parry, physician, and grandson of the Rev. Joshua Parry, a Nonconformist minister in Pembrokeshire, was an explorer of some note. He entered the navy at the age of thirteen, and during the earlier half of his life his duties took him to the North American coasts, the Baltic Seas, and the waters of the Arctic Ocean. In 1827 he attempted to reach the North Pole by means of boats and sledges, and advanced to the farthest point that had been reached up to that time. Though unsuccessful in his first attempt, it may be stated that his experience and observations prepared the way for the final accomplishment of the North-West passage under Clure. The latter's achievements in Arctic navigation must in a large measure be attributed to the efforts of Sir William Parry. He was Controller of the steam department of the navy 1837–46. He died 1855.

There is no longer any doubt as to the nationality of the late Sir H. M. Stanley, the noted African explorer. His name was John Rowlands; he was born at Denbigh in the year 1840. He crossed from Wales to America in 1855, and soon after enlisted in the Confederate Army; he was taken prisoner, released, and entered the United States Navy. At the close of the war he went to Turkey, and as war correspondent for the *New York Herald* joined the Abyssinian

expedition of 1867–8. He afterwards travelled in Spain, and in 1869 was asked to go and find Livingstone. After visiting the Crimea, Palestine, Persia, and India, he crossed Africa, and found the traveller at lake Tanganyika, and then returned to England. He again acted as the *Herald's* correspondent in the Ashanti War; and in 1874 again explored Africa, tracing the Congo River from the interior to the mouth in 1877. In 1879 he returned there, planted stations, and established steam navigation under the direction of the International African Association, and so founded the Congo Free State 1885. In 1887 he organised the expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha, meeting him, after many adventures, near Lake Albert Nyanza, and returning 1890. He has written, besides his autobiography, *How I found Livingstone*, *Through the Dark Continent*, *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, and *In Darkest Africa*. In 1899 he was made G.C.B.

The world is not very greatly indebted to Wales for the inventive side of its genius, though there is something to its credit in that direction.

Richard Roberts, born 1789, at Carreg Hwfa Gatehouse, Llwyntidman, near Llanymynech, Montgomeryshire, and who settled as a mechanic in Manchester, invented many appliances, one of them being the self-acting mule, to which we owe a large measure of our success in cotton manufacture. He died, in straitened circumstances, in 1864, surrounded by immense fortunes, some of which were reaped through his own inventions.

Samuel Ellis, who was born at Melinrhyd Mill, Cyfronydd, Montgomeryshire, 1803, also settled in Manchester. He was successful in making striking improvements in the construction of railway turntables and weighing-machines. It is stated that Robert Stephenson described this invention as one of the greatest improvements in railway machinery that had ever come under his observation. He died 1852.

David Edward Hughes, the son of David Hughes, of Bala, born 1830, was a man of some capacity in experimental science. He emigrated to America at an early age. There he discovered the idea of the type-printing telegraph, which

he patented 1863. It was adopted by the American Telegraph Company and many of the Continental Governments. He returned to England 1877, where he continued his experimental work. He completed the microphone in 1878, and the induction balance in 1879. He died 1900.

Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, son of William Thomas, of the Solicitor's Department in the Inland Revenue Office, London, who was born 1850, attained considerable fame as an inventor. In conjunction with P. C. Gilchrist, a chemist at Cwmavon, Glamorganshire, he solved the problem of the elimination of phosphorus from iron. This discovery brought about a revolution in the manufacture of iron and steel. He died 1885.

Humphrey Llwyd, of Denbigh, who translated *The historie of Cambria* (Caradoc of Llancarfan's) into English in 1584, was the pioneer of modern cartography (map-making), and the great Ortelius held him in high esteem.

"The father of wireless telegraphy" is a title which belongs to Sir William Henry Preece, K.C.B. Commencing business in 1852, he became superintendent of the Electric and International Telegraph Company, and afterwards engineer to the Channel Islands Telegraph Company. When the Government took over the telegraph companies Sir William was transferred to the Post Office as divisional engineer, and was promoted to be electrician in 1877, and engineer-in-chief and electrician in 1892. As long ago as 1875 Sir William succeeded in telegraphing across the Solent when the cable to the Isle of Wight was broken—the year Mr. Marconi was born. Wireless telegraphy became a practical fact in 1892, when, during the repair of a cable between Oban and the island of Mull, a distance of three or four miles, the Post Office business was carried on by this means for two or three weeks. Sir William afterwards placed all the resources of the Post Office at Mr. Marconi's disposal, and gave him every possible aid in his experiments.

As yet, science seems not to be in the blood of the Welsh branch of the Celtic race. Great efforts are now being made to force the Welsh mind into the region of science, but whether it will under discipline develop any special aptitude,

remains to be seen. But though Wales can claim no scientist worthy to rank with Tyndall or Huxley, there are, however, several Welshmen who have distinguished themselves, such as, for instance, Sir John Rhys, of Oxford, in Philology; the late Principal Viriamu Jones, of Cardiff, in Physics; and the late Dr. Isaac Roberts, in Astronomy. It is claimed by Welshmen that Humphrey Lloyd, a scientist of European fame, and who was elected Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, 1867, was a Welshman, but the connexion is indeed very remote. His father, Bartholomew Lloyd, who was elected Provost 1831, and who was born at New Ross, County Wexford, in 1772, and his family, had settled in the county of Wexford a century earlier.

Sir Richard John Griffith, Bart., born at Dublin in the year 1784, was a grandson of Elizabeth Griffith, an authoress, who was born in Glamorganshire 1720. He was appointed first Professor of Geology for the Royal Dublin Society 1812. His great geological map of Ireland, based on a scale of four miles to an inch, was described by Professor Forbes as "one of the most remarkable geological maps ever produced by a single geologist." The Geological Society of London presented him with the Woolaston paladium medal. "Griffith's valuation" is still used for the purpose of taxation in Ireland, and indirectly for the fixing of fair rents under the Irish Land Acts. He died 1878.

John Phillips, born at Marden in 1800, was undoubtedly a Welshman by extraction. He was entrusted with the arrangement of the fossils in the British Museum, and was appointed Secretary, 1831. In 1834 he was elected Professor of Geology at King's College, London, removing to Trinity College, Dublin, 1844. In 1853 he was elected to the Chair of Geology at Oxford. He was Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, 1854–70. He was made a Fellow of the Geological Society, 1828, and acted as President 1859–60. In 1834 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was President of the British Association, 1865. There is a bust of John Phillips in the Museum at Oxford, and a portrait in oils at the Geological Society in London. He wrote several important works, and died 1874.

David Dale Owen, born in Scotland, 1807, was the son of Robert Owen, the Socialist, of Newtown, in Montgomeryshire. He and his brother, Robert Dale Owen, emigrated to America. Robert was elected to the House of Representatives for Indiana, and in 1850 took a prominent part in the revision of the constitution of that State. He was United States Minister at Naples, 1853–8. He died 1877. His brother, David Dale Owen, was devoted to chemistry, and in 1848 he was employed by the United States Government to make a survey of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The results of his survey were published by the Government in 1852. He was afterwards engaged in geological surveys of Arkansas and Kentucky, and some of his investigations were published by the Smithsonian Institute. He died 1860.

Thomas Pennant, the naturalist, born 1726, was the son of David Pennant, of Downing, near Holywell, in Flintshire. He was elected in 1754 a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and he published in 1765 an important work on British Zoology. He travelled extensively with the view of making topographical discoveries. He published his *Tours in Scotland*, in two volumes, in 1778. He also published two volumes of his *Tours in Wales*. He died 1798.

Sir Richard Owen, born 1804, the son of Richard Owen, of Fulmer Place, Bucks., was Superintendent of the Natural History Departments of the British Museum, 1856–84. He was made C.B. in 1873, and K.C.B. in 1884. He attained considerable eminence as a zoologist and anatomist, and in the science of palæontology, that branch of biological science which treats of fossil organic remains. He wrote many important works, one of which, *On the Fossil Reptilia of South Africa*, with many illustrations, was published by the trustees of the British Museum, 1876. He died 1892.

In the science of medicine and surgery there are a few conspicuous Welshmen. Among the most prominent may be mentioned the late Sir William Roberts. He was born in 1830, at Bodedern, Anglesey. His father, David Roberts, was a surgeon. It is a notable fact that Sir William was appointed full physician to the Manchester Royal Infirmary at the age of twenty-five. He moved to London, 1889. It is justly

claimed on his behalf that he was among the first physicians in England to demonstrate that a thorough knowledge of physiology could be utilised in the treatment of disease. He was the author of several sound works on medical subjects. He was knighted 1885, and died 1899.

Hugh Owen Thomas, of Liverpool, was a noted surgeon whose maternal grandparents hailed from Bodedern, Anglesey. He created a revolution in the practice of orthopœdic surgery in England, and he was largely instrumental in discouraging the practice of amputating limbs and excising joints in tubercular disease. "The Thomas's Splints" are now in general use both in England and America. He wrote many and well-known works. He was born 1834; died 1891.

David Daniel Davies, born at Llandyfaelog, near Carmarthen, in the year 1777, was physician-accoucheur to the Duchess of Kent at the birth of Queen Victoria. He was elected, 1825, to the Chair of Midwifery in the University College of London. He died 1841.

Sir Thomas Williams, Bart., born 1604, was the son of William Williams, whose family came from Talyllyn, Breconshire. He became physician to Charles II. and James II. He was created a Baronet, 1674. Besides being an eminent physician, he was skilled in the compounding and dispensing of medicines, and held several civil appointments. He died 1712, at the age of 108.

Sir Noah Thomas, born at Neath, 1720, was made a Fellow of the Royal Society 1753, and by the College of Physicians 1757. He was appointed physician extraordinary to George III. 1763, and physician-in-ordinary 1775. His portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is in St. John's College, Cambridge. He died 1792.

Sir Henry Halford, Bart., born 1766, was the son of Dr. James Vaughan, a physician of Leicester. His original name was Vaughan, but he changed it to that of Halford after the death of his mother's cousin, who left him a large fortune. He adopted the name and arms of Halford, receiving a baronetcy. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians 1794, and acted as physician to George III., George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria.

He was elected President of the Royal College of Physicians, 1820. He died 1844.

Sir David Davies, born 1793, was appointed physician to William IV. and Queen Adelaide, and was knighted by Queen Victoria after her accession to the throne. He died 1865.

John Edward Morgan, brother of Sir George Osborne Morgan, who was born in 1828, was appointed in 1867 as honorary physician to the Manchester Royal Infirmary, and Professor at the Victoria University in 1873. It is claimed that the granting of the medical charter to the Victoria University was mainly owing to his personal exertions, and to an essay he wrote on the subject. He died 1892.

Tom Jones, a native of Derlwyn, Carmarthenshire, born 1848, acquired great reputation as an operator, and in 1874 was appointed operating surgeon to the Children's Hospital, Pendlebury. In 1890 he was made Professor of Surgery at the Victoria University. He had previously held the position of Lecturer on Surgery at Owens College. He died of fever at Bloemfontein while in charge of the Welsh Hospital, during the South African War.

Of the Welshmen who have shown high capacity for finance, and who came into large possessions, there are three who have attained a name and a fame beyond the confines of the Principality. Lewis Lloyd, the banker, was born at Cwmyto, in the parish of Llanwrda, Carmarthenshire, 1767. He was minister of the Unitarian Chapel at Failsworth, but he gave up the ministry for the banking business, after his marriage, in 1793, with the sister of Samuel and William Jones, the bankers. He established the banking business of Jones, Lloyd, & Co., which was afterwards merged in the London and Westminster Bank. He purchased the Overstone estate in Northamptonshire. He died 1858.

His son, first Baron Overstone (Samuel Jones Lloyd), born in 1796, succeeded him as head of the firm, and died one of the richest men in England. He was regarded, both in business and in governmental circles, as an authority on banking and finance. He represented Hythe in Parliament 1819–26. He was raised to the peerage in 1850; died 1883.

David Davies, of Llandinam, born 1818, became a railway contractor, and was marvellously successful. He turned his attention to coal-mining, and it is recorded that he accumulated, in one year, a net profit of about £100,000 from the Ocean Collieries. He represented the Cardigan Boroughs, 1874–85. He will be remembered for his Christian character, his philanthropic deeds, and his high patriotic ideals. He died 1890.

Among the Welsh surveyors and architects, James Lewis Thomas occupies a distinguished place. He was another of the many Breconshire men who have helped to make that county famous. He was born 1821, and was chief surveyor to the War Office. He designed the Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Queen Victoria on May 19, 1856. He was F.S.A. and F.R.G.S. He died 1905.

Owen Jones, born 1809, the son of Owen Jones, of Llanfihangel-glyn-Myfyr, Denbighshire, founder of the Gwyneddigion Society in London, was another noted architect and designer. He designed St. James's Hall, London, and the London Palace, Oxford Street. He superintended the great Exhibition building 1861, and was director of the decorations at the Crystal Palace. His great work on *Ornament* is still famous. He died 1874.

John Nash, born in London in the year 1752, was of Welsh extraction. He designed Regent Street, and the Prince Regent engaged him to build the Pavilion at Brighton. When the Prince became King, he was instructed to take designs for a new palace, on the site of Buckingham House. He remodelled the Italian Opera House, the United Service Club House, Pall Mall, and All Souls' Church, Langham Place. He also designed the Haymarket Theatre. He died 1835.

In the engineering department, Edward Pritchard deserves a place of honour. He was born 1838, in the town of Wrexham. He designed the waterworks of Pretoria. In 1888 he reported on the best means of severing the district of Cape Town. He was officially engaged in the development of gold mines in Silesia, under the Austro-Hungarian

Government, and in 1896 he directed, under a British syndicate, the exploitation of their newly opened gold-fields in British Columbia. He was a Fellow of both the Royal Meteorological and Geological Societies. He died 1900.

Sir George Everest, a native of Gwernvale, Breconshire, born 1790, was Surveyor-General of India, 1830–43. He gave his name to Mount Everest, in the Himalayas. He died 1866.

William George Owen, father of Sir Isambard Owen, was jointly concerned with Mr. Kingdom Brunel in the construction of a large part of the line from London to Bristol. He superintended the construction of the bridge over the Wye at Chepstow, and the Bristol and Exeter Railway. He was appointed chief engineer to the entire Great Western Railway, 1868. He was born 1810, and died 1885.

Robert Piercy, born 1825, at Trefeglwys, Montgomeryshire, after some experience in Wales, went out to India in 1879, where he was engaged in the construction of the Assam Railways, and in the opening up of the Margherita Collieries. He died 1894.

His brother, Benjamin Piercy, born 1827, was engaged by Henry Robertson in making parliamentary surveys for the Shrewsbury and Chester Railway. He was engaged in most of the projects for introducing independent railways into Wales. He also had some continental experience. He died 1888.

Among sculptors, John Gibson, born 1790, at Gyffin, Conway, was admittedly the chief of his day and generation. He confined his genius to the production of poetic subjects, taken chiefly from the mythology of Greece and Rome. There are a few portrait statues by him, among them being that of Queen Victoria in the Prince's Chamber at Westminster, and another at Buckingham Palace. There is also one of Sir Robert Peel at Westminster Abbey. He was elected A.R.A. 1833, and R.A. 1838. He produced many famous works, and died 1866.

James Milo Griffith, born 1843, a native of Pembrokeshire, stood high in his profession. Among his finest productions are the "Fine Arts," on the Holborn Viaduct;

"The Four Evangelists," in Bristol Cathedral; the statue of Sir Hugh Owen, in Castle Square, Carnarvon; and "Sheridan's Ride," exhibited at the Chicago Exhibition. He died 1897.

The artistic instinct is not a prominent instinct in the Welsh genius. Its influence in this direction is narrow. However, what Welsh artists there are, occupy a leading position.

Richard Wilson, born 1714, the son of the Rev. John Wilson, rector of Penegoes, Montgomeryshire, abandoned portrait painting for landscape at the suggestion of Zucarelli, an Italian artist, but in so doing forsook the road that led to wealth, for he died in poverty and obscurity. Long after his death, which took place in Denbighshire, 1782, the public began to realise his artistic greatness. In the National Gallery there is "Niobe," the best known of his works, also "Lake Avernus," which attracted the attention and admiration of Turner.

Sir Edward Burne Jones, the son of Edward Richard Jones, born 1833, profoundly affected the renaissance, in England, of decorative art and the artistic crafts. He was one of the leaders of the pre-Raphaelite movement, and a close student of Celtic romances. The mosaic decorations in the apse of the American Church, Rome, are his. His great designing genius is seen in many of the stained-glass windows in England, Europe, and America. He died 1898.

Thomas Jones, a native of Aberedw, Breconshire, second son of Thomas Jones, of Pencerryg, Radnorshire, had a great talent for painting. He became a pupil of Richard Wilson, and afterwards studied under the great Mortimer. He went to Rome in 1776, and visited Naples, where he left behind him several excellent specimens of English art. He ultimately returned to London, and many of his works found their way into the numerous collections of the Metropolis. He was born 1743; died 1803.

As to fiction, there are only two Welsh novelists of Welsh parentage that have attracted attention outside Wales, namely, "Allen Raine" and Daniel Owen. The former wrote entirely in English, and the latter entirely in Welsh.

"Allen Raine's" novels were of the same type as those of Annie Swan, but more limited in their application, being devoted altogether to Welsh life. They obtained a wide circulation both in England and in America. But "Allen Raine" did not write literature, and her fame is of the ephemeral kind. There is an English translation of Daniel Owen's *Rhys Lewis*, though it does not bear out the characteristics of the original. Daniel Owen had some attractive features as a writer of fiction—pathos, humour, description, the gift of idealisation, realism, and keen human sympathy. But the interest in *Rhys Lewis* and its author is, and will be, necessarily limited in its range. Daniel Owen will remain the exclusive possession of the Welsh.

Of novelists who have written for children, Wales has none. There have been plenty of text-books, catechisms, reciters, and storyettes of a kind, in denominational magazines, but Wales has not produced anything like *Alice in Wonderland*, and in the whole range of Welsh literature there is nothing approaching those admirable stories of the sea and of the school, written by Mrs. Ewing, Miss Tucker, and "Lewis Carroll." This is a branch of literature which has hardly any existence in the Principality. Until the advent of the new learning, the reading tendency of the Welsh was almost exclusively in the direction of theology, poetical ideas, and ministerial biography. Education, and the advent of the new thought, have brought about very striking changes in the tastes of the people, and in the attitude of the pulpit towards secular literature, as well as literary and theological criticism. The novel has had a very small place in Welsh thought, only masters of the craft, such as Lord Lytton, Dickens, Thackeray, Charles Reade, and George MacDonald being widely known to Welsh readers.

What of Welsh women writers? Among those of earlier days must be mentioned Gwerfyl Fechan and Ann Griffiths; and among the moderns, Gwyneth Vaughan and Eluned Morgan. Neither can we in justice omit the name of Miss Jane Williams (Ysgafell), the daughter of David Williams. She was born in 1806, and resided for many years at Neuadd Felin, Talgarth, Breconshire. She wrote

the life and published the literary remains of the Rev. Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc), *The Literary Women of England*, *A History of Wales*, etc. But Wales has not produced any women writers of the ability and fame of Charlotte Brontë, "George Eliot," Mrs. Oliphant, or Mrs. Humphry Ward. Wales has no poetess that can stand comparison with Christina Georgina Rossetti, who wrote such graceful and sensitive verse. It is a striking fact that Welsh women, until recent years, have been in a very backward state. Very little was done for their education, and they did not seem to exhibit any intellectual curiosity worthy of notice, and no literary capacity of any kind. There have been some humorous sketches of Welsh social life and character from the pen of Miss Winnie Parry, and published in *Cymru* under the editorship of Owen M. Edwards. That was towards the close of the Victorian era, and the incident stands almost alone. But Welsh women in general have had but little encouragement to apply themselves to the exposition or cultivation of any branch of art or of knowledge. Their interest in life has, practically, been confined to the chapel and to the home, to religion, motherhood and domestic arrangements. The business of a vast number of unmarried Welsh women of the lower classes, with social life, has been that of a menial, and in some instances very menial, character, and it has coloured their disposition, tastes, and character. The education of Welsh women of the upper class and the higher middle class was as good as that of English women. In the older magazines we find a good proportion of Welsh women writers belonging to these classes. New avenues of usefulness are being found for Welsh women, especially in the teaching profession, but nowhere more than in Wales is there the need to emphasise the fact that the individual development of women, their higher education, their self-expression in works of art, thought, and practice, cannot safely be carried beyond the point at which motherhood is compromised. Even Americans admit that the excessive employment of women teachers is a drawback. It is certainly injurious to the future of boys, when they have to pass through school and begin their careers in life without coming under the influence of

masculine authority. Such a system ignores the effect of school life on character. The employment of women head-teachers in mixed schools is a mistake; there is nothing so fatal as the lack of discipline—always under women teachers—to boys' character. Welsh women are not without their good qualities. They are domesticated. The sense of filial obligation is strong. They are fond of music, and religion appeals to them; but they lack the artistic sense. They have lacked urbanity, and a taste for elegance and neatness. Nowhere is the absence of the æsthetic temperament more conspicuous than in the average Welsh home. Beauty in common things is not a Welsh virtue. The influence of modern education is doing much towards the cultivation of the æsthetic side of Welsh life, and is fast modifying the social characteristics of Welsh women.

How does Wales stand in the region of music? She has produced a few vocal artistes of British and of limited European fame.

Edith Wynne, born at Holywell 1840, was the first Welsh female artiste to win recognition as a singer in London. Mr. Joseph Bennett wrote to the *Daily Telegraph*, "As a ballad singer she had no superior; and her rendering of Schubert's 'Young Nun' will never fade from my memory." For eight weeks, in 1864, she played Lady Mortimer in the second part of *Henry IV.* at the Drury Lane Theatre. Her success was in a great measure due to her training, for she studied in Italy under Romani and Vauncini. She died 1897.

Adelaide Kemble, born in London 1814, was the daughter of Charles Kemble, the actor, and a native of Breconshire. She sang with success in Germany 1837, and in Austria 1838. She was also heard in Paris in the same year. Her first appearance in opera was as "Norma" in Venice, followed by other successful performances in the same capacity in London. She died 1879.

Among living Welsh vocal artistes may be mentioned Mrs. Mary Davies, who is a vocalist of distinction, and a Fellow of the Royal Academy. She is also Examiner for the Royal Academy and Royal Academy of Music. For fifteen years she was principal soprano at London Ballad Concerts. She

sang in oratorios at the great Festivals of the Principal Choral Societies of the United Kingdom, and at the Chicago World's Fair. She is a gold and silver medallist.

There is also Ben Davies, a native of Pontardawe, South Wales. He is a tenor of European fame. He was for many years with the Carl Rosa Opera Company, and has taken a leading part in *Ivanhoe* and Italian opera in Covent Garden.

David Ffrangcon-Davies stands among the finest musical artistes that Wales ever produced. He it was who, about seven years ago, at the Queen's Hall, invested both the character and the music of *Elijah* with a new significance, not merely by delivering the music throughout from memory, but by infusing a gentle dramatic colour in keeping with the attitude of the text and music alike. He has sung in opera at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, and in oratorios at all the principal festivals of the world. He resided in Berlin for a period of three years, where he took a high position in the German art world. He was at one time Professor at the Royal Academy of Music.

Robert Rees, better known as "Eos Morlais," born at Corris, Merionethshire, in 1841, but brought up at Dowlais, South Wales, was very little known in England, but he had the instinct, the heart, and the mind of a singer. His gift of reading and of interpreting music was superb. He was weak in oratorio, but in ballad-singing he could see an idea and express it. It may be stated with emphasis and with confidence that he stood alone and supreme among Welsh solo singers as an interpreter of the mysteries of music. He died 1892.

Brinley Richards, born 1817, the son of Henry Richards, of Carmarthen, won recognition as the author of "God bless the Prince of Wales"; "Let the hills resound"; "Songs of Wales." Some of his orchestral works were played in Paris and in London. He was chiefly a pianoforte composer. He died 1885.

Joseph Parry, who flourished in the last twenty-five years of the Victorian era, wrote in all musical forms, and his works have been more largely rehearsed than those of any other Welsh composer. He was the first Welshman to compose a

Welsh opera. A distinct Cymric note marked all that he composed. His fame, however, was confined to the specialists, and to the Welsh-speaking population of Wales, America, and the Colonies.

The influence exerted by the Welsh musical genius upon the world at large, upon modes of musical thought, doings, and creation, and the musical point of view of the Anglo-Saxon race, or of the Teutonic race, has been practically fruitless. Though music has played a heavy part in Welsh religious life, very little was done, until recent years, for the cultivation of music as an art. The character of the Welsh genius is such that its function is to express rather than to create. They are best in combination; but even there they are faulty in technique and in restraint, and in the conception of the mind of the poet and composer; but they excel in inspiration and expression. Eloquence is a form of expression, and this is a strong Cambrian quality. But it appeals more to the feeling than to the understanding; it aims at stirring the heart rather than to enlighten the mind. This peculiarity runs through the whole of Welsh music, both in song and in composition. It is to express a feeling more than to interpret an idea. The mission of music, both in composition and execution, is to interpret and to express. Welsh musical conductors have emphasised the expression at the expense of the interpretation. They have sought to put feeling into a composition instead of grasping and revealing its meaning. This has been the great defect of Welsh choral and congregational singing. Taking this standard as the basis of comparison, there have been but few, if any, great Welsh musical conductors. These defects explain why there have been so few Welshmen in the past who have distinguished themselves in the operatic world, though of late years Welsh singers have been coming to the front on the operatic stage both as soloists and chorus singers. There, the genius for interpretation is essential. The Welshman excels in the song and the ballad, but his genius is predisposed to the spiritual, and is more allied to the religious than to the scientific and material side of life. In addition to this, there is the ban that Puritanism has been allowed to place upon everything

dramatic in Wales—except dramatic preaching. Over and over again, in recent years, at the National Eisteddfod, in various parts of Wales, English choirs from the Potteries have met the best choirs that Wales has yet produced, and have repeatedly asserted their superiority over them, for the reasons and on the ground which I have already indicated. But instead of appreciating their defects, and training themselves, they have found fault with the adjudicators. There is nothing the Welsh musician dislikes more than a German or a foreign musical composer or adjudicator. What is needed is to force the conviction into the Welsh mind that what Welsh musicians lack is musical culture.

Among actresses Sarah Siddons stands supreme. She was born at the Shoulder of Mutton Inn, or Siddons' Vaults, High Street, Brecon, 1755. Mrs. Siddons was the first tragic actress of the English stage—first both as to time and eminence. For thirty years she was the great heroine of English society. She began her theatrical career when a child. In 1774 she won recognition by her representation of "Belvedere," in *Venice Preserved*, at Cheltenham. Yet her first appearance at Drury Lane was a failure; but in 1782 she appeared a second time as "Isabella" in *The Fatal Marriage*, and won complete success. She was best as "Lady Macbeth" and "Queen Katherine" in *Henry VIII.* She left the stage in 1812, and died 1831.

Fanny Kemble, another Breconshire woman, was a conspicuous actress. She was the daughter of Charles Kemble, the actor. She made her début as "Juliet" at Covent Garden, 1829, and won great success. She toured in America, accompanied by her father, where she deepened the impression she had already made in England. She composed a drama, *The Star of Seville*, in 1837. In 1847 she returned to the English stage, making her new début as "Lady Teazle" at the Theatre Royal, Manchester. She also published a volume of plays 1864. She was born 1811, and died 1893.

Her father, Charles Kemble, born 1775, made his first appearance at Drury Lane 1794, and, with the exception of David Garrick, he had the widest range of characters on

record. It included both comedy and tragedy. In 1840 he was made examiner of plays. He died 1854.

What of Welsh poets and poetry? As to the Welsh poet, he cannot be said to have influenced the outside public, or to have created a demand for his effusions in the English literary market. Even in Wales, at this hour, the bard is respected more in a traditional than in a utilitarian sense. He has not the same political, social, or national force as he had fifty years ago, to say nothing of the old Cymric times preceding the fall of Llywelyn and the Glyn Dwr rebellion a century later, when the bards utilised their gift for the purpose of rousing the patriotic sentiment of the people, and of stirring and sustaining the passion for war. We cannot accept as authentic the many myths and legends that have gathered around the ancient Welsh poets, Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, Myrddin, and others, more or less known to Welsh fame. Much of the poetry that bears the name of Taliesin is of later date. The old bards were a conservative and an exclusive order, who wielded considerable influence, and to whom may be attributed, in a large measure, many turbulent periods in Welsh history. Many of them never rose to a higher strain than personal flattery, and the poetic effusions of the earliest of them contain a curious mixture of Druidic philosophy and Christianity. Such is the over-idealisation in the productions of some of them, that they remind us of savage tribes. For generations the country swarmed with poetasters, making themselves a source of annoyance to the more educated of the land, and trading upon the generosity of the gentry, many of whom were sincere patrons of the art, and of everything that tended to the elevation of the people. Not until the sixteenth century was there a serious and a combined effort made to put down the evil. Queen Elizabeth gave permission, in the year 1566, to hold an Eisteddfod at Caerwys, on May 26, 1567, one of the objects of which was the imposition of a test for the title of a bard; the test being ability to write correct "cynghanedd" and to display a mastery of the twenty-four metres. Four bardic degrees were created, and musical degrees for proficiency on the harp. The metres had previously been re-arranged at the Carmarthen Eisteddfod in 1451.

The Eisteddfod at Caerwys was held in 1568, and was chiefly for the purpose of licensing bards, and to prevent those unable to compose in the twenty-four metres from professing poetry. For some time after the poetasters disappear, and a distinct change is effected in the subject-matter of the themes. But it should be noted that some of the most prominent poets of the sixteenth century were not graduates of the Caerwys Eisteddfod. Among them may be mentioned Emwnt Prys, Wiliam Myddleton, Edward Kyffin, a kinsman of Maurice Kyffin. The latter was a poet who held positions of some importance under the British Crown, and who, in 1557, wrote the *Blessedness of Brytaine*, which contained a brief rehearsal, as he tells us, of the benefits enjoyed "not only all England over, but also in forrein Partes" under the "blessed Rule of our Royall Queene Elizabeth." This book was dedicated to the Earl of Essex.

It must not be supposed that the period preceding the Caerwys Eisteddfod, on May 25, 1568, was by any means a barren one: there were a few poets of exceptional merit, whose works possess great historical, as well as literary interest. Indeed, the golden age of Welsh poetry is far back in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, radiant with the fancy and artistry of Dafydd ap Gwilym and his fellows. Welsh poetry was in a transition stage when Dafydd ap Gwilym came upon the scene. He is said to have invented the metre called "cywydd." He was the strongest and the most elegant exponent of the tender passion among all the Welsh poets that ever sang. His advent created a new era in Welsh poetic literature, and he stands quite apart in his adoption of native and love poetry as his central themes. George Borrow, in his *Wild Wales*, pays him the extravagant compliment of being the "greatest genius who had appeared in Europe after the revival of literature." Though Borrow is no authority on Welsh matters, it is worthy of note that since the days of John Richard Green's *History of the English People*, Dafydd ap Gwilym is known both to English *littérateurs* and the savants of Europe. Two years ago Dr. Stern, of the Berlin University, published an analytical work of Dafydd ap Gwilym in German. But he is not known as

Burns and Scott are known, or even deemed worthy to be included among the "Penny Poets." Mr. W. T. Stead once observed, "What do the people in the street know of Dafydd ap Gwilym?" Well, the people in the street do not count in art.

Sir Lewis Morris, born in 1834, at Carmarthen, was a poet of some merit. He has been described as the most truthful and successful of the Tennysonians. His *Epic of Hades* gave him a place among the poets of the Victorian era. There was some expectation that he would end his days as poet-laureate, but Mr. Gladstone ordained it otherwise. Sir Lewis Morris died 1907.

But with the exception of Dafydd ap Gwilym and Sir Lewis Morris, all the Welsh poets, in so far as England or Europe is concerned, are practically unknown and untried. As a medium of thought, inspiration, and education to the outside world, the Welsh poets might as well have never existed. What is the explanation? One is, that for centuries Wales has been relegated among the duskier communities of Europe, neglected and ignored by English publishers, journalists, and politicians, except when their votes were wanted and profit could be made out of them. In addition to this, the Welsh people, until very recently, have exhibited but few of the more practical talents, engaging themselves in the dungeons of forgotten lore and preferring a retiring and even a melancholy existence. Only a small margin of its life is associated with an advanced degree of civilisation, and this, in part, accounts for its unadorned simplicity. Another reason is that for a period of five centuries, from the sixth to the twelfth century, the date of the revival of Welsh bardism and Welsh literature, the country seems to have been almost entirely barren of literature. Not that bardism had died out in that intervening period, for the laws of Hywel Dda, which belong to the tenth century, go to prove that bardism was an organised profession in the life of the nation at that time. Welsh literature was cultivated in the monasteries; but it was under Latin control. Welshmen of the upper class were in touch with all learning, and they travelled abroad far more in proportion than they do now. But we must consider the

causes of the *general* unproductiveness, namely, wars, Saxon and Danish spoliation, and the poverty of a downtrodden people. Wales and Welshmen during the Latin domination had their full share in the great things of the Republic of European nations. The Welsh platform in those days was the world. It is since the Reformation that Wales has been cramped in outlook, left to feed on her poor self, and become narrow, blinded, and quarrelsome. Moreover, much of the poetry of Wales is worthless, because its subject-matter is so local in its scope, and so little affected by the things that concern the general heart. Its domesticity has been its bane; so has been its language. There is some evidence that Dafydd ap Gwilym was influenced by as much of the Continental thought as permeated Welsh life in his time. His mental outlook seems to point that way.

In 1077 Rhys ap Tewdwr, heir to the throne of South Wales, is said to have brought with him, on his return from Brittany, many of the traditions he had received from the Cymric exiles who had found a congenial home in that country. These traditions form the groundwork of many of the beautiful romances in the *Red Book of Hergest*. Coincident with his return is the revival of that literary activity which dates from that period. But the ancient Welsh poets of that age did nothing better than perpetuate the eulogistic form of poetry which had prevailed for so long, and their effusions are of interest simply to Welsh antiquarians and historians on account of the light which they throw on the customs, morality, and aspirations of the people.

It was the Methodist revival of the eighteenth century that revolutionised the literature of the nation, and especially the poetic side of it. To that influence may be attributed the fact that so much of the poetry of these times, and subsequent periods, is of a religious and descriptive character, and that so many of the poets were preachers. It was a period of another renaissance in Welsh poetry, which gave to the nation her best poetic works, in the *telyneg* (lyric), *bugeilgerdd* (pastoral), and *arwrgerdd* (epic), and when the *pryddest* (long poem) and the *awdl* (ode) reached their zenith. To be sure, Wales had then, as well as now, a large number

of writers of verse, with very little of it of an enduring character, and scarcely rising to the scale of real poetry. It contained but little real sentiment and imagination. It was pretty and fanciful, but unworthy of the name of high poetry. It cannot be said that poetic art is as strong in the Welsh poet as it is in English and Continental poets. There is in Welsh poetry plenty of passion, imagination, and national enthusiasm, but it has not directly played the same strong part in the cultivation of Welsh moral, social, and intellectual life, such for instance as the poetry of Burns and Byron in Scotland, and of Tennyson and Browning in England. The true poet is a creator of ideas, but the Welsh poet is neither a teacher nor a prophet. I know few Welsh poets who are apostles of Welsh ideas, and by this I mean poets who have sown in the minds of men thoughts which have had a wide influence on the times. What secret of poetry is it that gives it worth and permanence? Is it the philosophy which it embodies, the experience which it summarises, the emotion which it pictures, the hopes and sorrows which it expresses, or that curious felicity of phrase which stimulates the imagination and lingers in the memory? These are the qualities, either singly or in combination, that give immortality to poems. Sometimes it is one, sometimes another. Taking Welsh poetry in this sense, and on its intrinsic merit, how does it stand? Much of it has no relation to human life and human experience, and is entirely at variance with the modern spirit. There is enough and to spare of adornment of verse, and even brooding contemplation, and a good deal of emotional abandonment, but there is the same stereotyped method of treating nature, and the passion is often stagy and shallow. Ideas that have been, like postage-stamps, in circulation for generations, are dressed and redressed, and presented to the public in the form of poetry. Welsh poetry has not much like the "Cry of the Children," by Mrs. Barrett Browning, or the "Song of the Shirt," that gave Hood the right to rank among the chief literary figures and humanitarian apostles of his time. Its general characteristic is its religious serenity, its remoteness from all debasing passions, its fidelity to duty, to home, to Fatherland, and to unadulterated love. It has

an ample body of thought and emotion, but it is mostly poetry for poetry's sake, without the consciousness of a divine or a human mission. It owes its inspiration more to Nature than to literature, but its mood is so regular, that one might well be forgiven for suspecting the genuineness of the gift. By gift, I mean that indefinable something which poets cannot regulate, obtain, retain, or command at will. The Eisteddfod is more of a check upon, than a help to, the poetic genius. It is worthy of note that the impartial process of natural selection, which goes on in literature, has by this time definitely rejected the great majority of the chaired and crowned bards of Wales of the last fifty years. It has only left us about half a dozen candidates for immortality—Welsh immortality. Neither Ceiriog nor Islwyn was crowned, though they were products of the Eisteddfod; but it is by the sheer force of their own merit that they have forged themselves to the front; and they are likely to find a permanent place in Welsh literature. The best qualities are to be found in the prose and poetry that are not officially recognised. Educated Welshmen have something better to do than to waste their energies in competing for prizes which afford no recompense for the labour involved in the winning of them. Eisteddfodic rewards have ceased to be the badge of intellectual superiority; they signify little, and represent little. There was no fame so eagerly sought after, and yet no fame that has turned out to be so evanescent and worthless. Who have been the foremost thinkers of the nation? Who are her foremost thinkers now? To the distant or superficial observer, they may appear to be the men who are foremost in popular attention and newspaper notoriety; but that is an art that costs something, and comes not always by way of merit. The leaders of the nation are not they who have repeated the parrot jargon that is responsible for the obliquity of vision of the vast majority of modern Welshmen. When the future historian looks for the makers of modern Wales, it will be discovered that many who are now first will be last, and many who are last will be first. The Eisteddfod has no formative influence over the mind of the nation. It seeks to command genius, and to commercialise it. If much

of this great mass of Welsh poetry that has emanated from Eisteddfodic circles, with such flourish of trumpets, were sunk in the Atlantic Ocean, nothing would be lost to literary art, style, or inspiration; nothing to the stream of ideas which in the long-run rule the world; nothing to intellectual force, classicism, or to that dreaming gift which fascinates, and which is never broken by any change of time or transcience of human taste. Poetry demands the absolute surrender of its powers to the one great purpose. In no other way can the noblest qualities of the mind, and the highest form of style, be produced. No man who writes for competition can write with a real sense of inspiration and of enthusiasm. Indeed, the sense of poetry and the avidity for poetry is on the decline in Wales and among the Welsh. It is due to the decay of the imaginative quality, the development of the commercial instinct, and a change of estimate as to the purpose and utility of poetry as an art.

What has Wales done in the region of history? I have already observed that the Welsh historic sense is weak. Several Welshmen have made valiant attempts at furnishing the world with an authentic account of the origin, peculiarities, and developments of the Welsh race. Among them were Sir John Price, Dr. David Powell, Humphrey Llwyd, Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc), and, notably, Thomas Stephens. In *The Welsh People*, by Sir John Rhys and Sir David Brynmor Jones, Bart., we have the best all-round view of the subject that has appeared, and it has the merit of combining the scientific with the popular element. Quite recently Professor Lloyd, of Bangor, has given us in two volumes a summary of all historical research up to date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the field of Welsh religious history mention should be made of Joshua Thomas's *History of the Baptists* (1778), and the *History of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales*, by the late Rev. John Hughes, of Liverpool, published in three volumes in 1851–1854–1856. In 1871–1872–1873–1875–1879 there appeared the *History of the Independent Churches in Wales*, under the combined editorship of the Rev. Thomas Rees, D.D., of Swansea, and the late Rev. John Thomas, D.D., of Liverpool; it is valuable as a work of

reference to Welsh Independents, or Welsh Congregationalists, as they now call themselves. But Wales, at its best, has no historian that is in any sense comparable to Dr. Arnold, author of *A History of Rome*, or Leslie Stephen, or Andrew Lang, to say nothing of Froude, Freeman, William Stubbs (Bishop of Oxford), Lecky, and Buckle—all masters in the art of history. It should not be forgotten, however, that Wales's educational advantages date only from 1870.

How does Wales stand in the field of biography? Perhaps the best efforts of modern Welsh prose literature are to be found in the biographies of preachers, and men of supposed wit and originality, in the various denominations. This branch of literature has been, in years past, very popular in the Principality, chiefly on account of the esteem in which preachers were held. The masses of the people scarcely read anything outside two departments—the biographical and the theological. The biography of the Rev. John Jones (Talysarn), by the late Rev. Owen Thomas, D.D., is, from a Welsh viewpoint, a work of considerable merit. The late Rev. William Rees, D.D. (Hiraethog), of Liverpool, wrote a very worthy biography of Williams of the Wern, whose name is associated with Christmas Evans and John Elias. This biography was translated into English in the year 1846. However, the bulk of Welsh biographies are almost entirely devoid of the artistic and critical quality. Wales has produced no biographer who, on the ground of merit, deserves to be ranked with Stanley, biographer of the *Life of Dr. Arnold*, Sir George Trevelyan, author of the *Life of Macaulay*, Stopford Brooke, biographer of Frederick W. Robertson, Theodore Martin, the biographer of Dickens, or *The Life of Nelson* by Southey, which is the most perfect piece of biography, on a small scale, that modern literature possesses. It is the production of an entire man of letters.

What of philosophy and political economy? Wales has no man of the type of Herbert Spencer or John Stuart Mill; no one that comes up to the standard of Stanley Jevons and Walter Bagehot. Several Welshmen have distinguished themselves in some of these branches. In philosophy there is Henry Jones, now Professor of Moral Philosophy in the

University of Glasgow. He is a preacher of philosophy; but it cannot be said that he is an original philosopher. He possesses keen power of assimilation, and, as a faithful disciple, repeats Edward Caird very creditably. He has none of the strength or insight of a creative philosopher.

Have the Welsh any literary essayists like Carlyle? Where, and who, are the men who can be said to have created and moulded ethical religion and political belief in the Principality? In vain do we look for them. There has not appeared any great teacher or prophet of the type of Ruskin. The nearest approach was the late Kilsby Jones, of Llanwrtyd Wells, and once minister of Bridgeton Chapel, London. He had the instinct, the foresight, and the courage of a true prophet. He was a man of great strength and great weakness of character. There were perilous depths in his personality; but he was no literary hack. He was, when considered in all respects, the most enthusiastic admirer and frankest critic that the Welsh people have yet seen. Some of the things that he wrote will stand the classic test of time. For a blend of phantasy and realism I commend his description of the surroundings of his own home at Glen View, Llanwrtyd. In this he gives us the Cambrian literary genius at its very best. It sounds like one of the old Greek poems. Kilsby wrote it in Welsh, and my apology for inserting my own translation of it is, that this side of Welsh literary life is unknown in England, and unsuspected in European literary circles. It reminds one of Robert Louis Stevenson, Edgar Allan Poe, Sir Walter Scott, Carlyle, and Gogol, the great Russian *littérateur*. There is a ruggedness, a poetic fancy, a realism, a power of observation, a gift of description, a vividness of language, and, above all, the power of conferring upon the reader a measure of his own love of Fatherland, of his intellect, and his phantasy, that stamps him out as a man of true literary genius.

"I have seen this valley at the dawn of day, when there was nothing to break the stillness but the song of birds, and the plaintive bleatings of the small mountain sheep, which are like so many white spots on those gorse-covered slopes.

"I have seen it at eventide, the setting sun softening the aspect of the

rocky mass with its last rays, and I have watched the approach of night until every object was buried in utter darkness. I have seen it in summer-time, when the trees put on their new verdant garments, and the valley is covered with green grass and corn.

"I have seen the same trees in autumn, wearing all the colours of the rainbow, and the hillsides brown with dead ferns.

"I have seen it during a thunderstorm, when the roar of heaven's battery was deafening, and the forked lightning threatened to rend the retreat at any moment, and to cleave the mountains on every side. The echo of the thunder in the mountain recesses was terribly grand.

"I have seen it in the day of tempest, when the whirlwind had been let loose, and all the windows of heaven thrown open, as if again to whelm the earth.

"The roar of the wind in the trees of the headland, the rush of Irfon's torrent over its rocky bed, and the tumult of the overflowing brooks in the recesses of the mountain-side, have given the listener some conception of the sublime grandeur of Nature's orchestra.

"I have seen it in dreary winter, every object seeming to gaze steadily out of the snowdrifts, and man conscious of a stillness as of death all around him.

"Beautiful beyond description are these mountains in their mantles of snow, which give a distinct peculiarity to the form of each one of them.

"Thou hermit valley of Irfon! The cradle and burial-ground of my homely fathers. I loved thee with a strong, constant love when sojourning in the land of the Saxon. Thou wert in my mind by day, and in my dreams by night. My chief desire was to die in thy bosom. I have loved thee with a love second only to the love of woman, and, in the opinion of sober-minded men, with mad intensity; but I care not, for I can say with the poet—'Thou valley, embrace me, and ye mountains, enclose me.'"

Not that Kilsby's is the only example of fine Welsh prose: there is the exquisite prose of the Mabinogion found in the *Red Book of Hergest.* Some critics might regard "Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc" (Visions of the Sleeping Bard), by Ellis Wyn (1703), as equal, if not a higher type. Pryse, of Cwmllynfell, and Christmas Evans also deserve to be mentioned in this connexion.

As to the services rendered by Wales, during the course of its long history, to learning and literature, there are a few notable examples worthy of recognition.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, or, as he is better known in Welsh literature, Gruffudd ab Arthur, was a distinguished man of letters of European fame, though he scarcely deserves the title of historian. His chief works were a Latin translation of the

prophecies of Myrddin, and his *Historia Britonum*, which purported to give the history of Britain from the earliest times to the abdication of Cadwaladr in the middle of the seventh century. This work became the treasure-house for the mediæval poets and romancers of Europe. The date of its composition is uncertain, but it must have been not later than 1147, for he died in that year. Whether it is a translation or an original work is also uncertain. Geoffrey professes to have translated a book which Walter, the Archdeacon of Oxford, had brought from Brittany, and which contained a fund of Breton stories. The probability is that he compiled his *Historia Britonum* from this book as well as from materials from other sources within his reach. Many of the legends he relates were drawn from Nennius and Gildas, which he enlarged and embellished. The work contains many of his own reflections, as well as his criticisms upon the character of his own countrymen. This work no longer possesses any historical authority. The old Celtic legends with which his *Brut* are crowded have ceased to be regarded as having any foundation in fact. No one now dreams of looking to the *Historia Britonum* for the true history of King Arthur. Their chief purport seems to have been the allaying of race animosities, by establishing the theory of the common origin of the inhabitants of Britain. His claim to recognition lies in the fact that he gathered together a body of traditions and romances that were capable of poetic adornment, which, otherwise, would have sunk into oblivion. They were woven in a manner suitable to the popular taste for stories which prevailed in those times. He so popularised Arthur that he was eagerly received as the national hero. Arthur was no longer a petty chieftain, but a great emperor, holding sway over the whole civilised world. His court was fixed at Caerleon, and was of unrivalled splendour. His individual exploits, and those of his knights, were canonised and perpetuated. There were elements in his characterisation of Arthur which were not strictly Cymric, and this led some of the bards to doubt its genuineness. The nations of Europe, up to that time, had suffered from a dearth of intellectual material, and of languages suitable for placing such material

on record. Latin was the language of the scholars, the language in which books were written and laws administered. Other languages, such as the French, the Spanish, and the English, came into existence as literary languages; but their ideas were few, and their sources of general knowledge very limited.

It was at this stage that Welsh literature came to the aid of Europe. The Welsh possessed many national traditions; their ancient kings had been invested with glory and honour, Arthur and his compatriots having been transformed into semi-deities. Without some medium, all such traditions would have remained the exclusive possession of the Welsh, and utterly unknown to other nations. This medium was provided in the person of Geoffrey of Monmouth. His *Historia Britonum* was in Latin, a language known to all European scholars. Wace's *Brut d'Angleterre* is a translation of Geoffrey's. These legends were translated, not only into English, but into French, Spanish, Italian, German, Scandinavian, and even into Greek; and there is some evidence that they travelled as far as Arabia. The influence of the *Historia Britonum* was not confined to that age nor to that form of literature. It greatly affected the minds and the morals of men. These legends were suited to the popular taste, and were calculated to foster those high feelings that usually manifest themselves in noble actions. Very few tales of chivalry for the next four hundred years fail to borrow something from Geoffrey of Monmouth. To the *Historia Britonum* Ariosto the Italian owes his *Orlando*, and Cervantes his *Don Quixote*. To Geoffrey, likewise, through Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Shakespeare was indebted for some of his plots: *Cymbeline* and *King Lear* were inspired from this source. These legends were the beginning of a new period in European literature, and their influence is still felt on the Continent, as well as in England. Sir Bulwer Lytton's *King Arthur* is a permanent memorial to their influence, and Milton purposed to make Arthur the basis of an epic poem. Without these legends, both the literature of Wales and of the Continent would have been decidedly the poorer. For a recent account of Geoffrey and the character of his work, I refer my readers

to Morley's *English Writers*, vol. iii. In the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1898–9) there is a suggestive paper by Professor W. Lewis Jones, of Bangor.

Among other Welshmen of European fame that may be mentioned are John of Wales, and Asser, a Welsh monk from St. David's, the teacher and biographer of Alfred the Great, and probably the father of the idea that gave Oxford its University. His life of the great King is to-day the most reliable authority on the Britain of that period. The late King Edward, in his speech at Aberystwyth on the occasion of his installation as Chancellor of the University of Wales, referred to Asser's learning in terms of eulogy.

Then there is Giraldus Cambrensis, the celebrated Welsh writer of the twelfth century. He was born in 1147, in the Castle of Manorbier, the ruins of which still stand on the rocks of the South Pembrokeshire coast. He came of a Welsh family that had a Norman strain. His grandmother was Nest—"the Helen of Wales"—who was the wife of Gerald de Windsor, castellan of Pembroke, and who had been formerly the mistress of Henry I. Giraldus's father was William de Barri. Giraldus was a faithful historian, who gave the world an honest description of the country and the people. He failed in his manly effort to secure the independence of the Welsh Church; but he left behind him many valuable historical works, which are to be found in the Rolls Series, vols. i., ii., iii., iv. (edited by Professor Brewer), vols. v., vi., vii. (edited by the Rev. J. F. Dymock). His *Topography and History of the Conquest of Ireland* (translated by Thomas Forester), and his *Itinerary through Wales* and *Description of Wales* (translated by Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bart.), are published in vol. vii. of Bohn's Antiquarian Library (edited by Thomas Wright, F.S.A.).

Dr. Owen-Pughe, born 1759, at Llanfihangel-y-Pennant, Merionethshire, spent eighteen years in the preparation of his *Welsh and English Dictionary*. It contains over 100,000 words, with 12,000 quotations. The *Myvyrian Archaiology* which he edited, and which appeared in 1801–7, is to Welsh students a work of great value, both from a literary and a historical view-point. Owen Jones, who flourished in 1741–

1814, and who was associated with Dr. Owen-Pughe in financing the production of several of his works, did much by way of collecting and transcribing Welsh MSS., and he left behind him over 30,000 pages of prose and verse. Renan, in his article on the poetry of the Celtic races, says that these researches of Jones would bring honour to the most active centres of learning in Europe, but, as Renan says, his works are devoid of the rigorous critical spirit which characterises the best English historians and researchers. But without the aid of Edward Williams (Iolo Morgannwg), the antiquarian part of their work, and consequently our present knowledge of Welsh MSS., could not have been secured. He was the admiration of learned English as well as Welsh; and both Pughe and Jones should never be mentioned apart from him. Of him Pughe says: "For various communications and for assistance of the most valuable kind I am indebted to another fellow-labourer in exploring the treasures of Cymric lore, my friend Edward Williams, the Bard of Glamorgan." Southey introduced him by name into his poem of *Madoc*, as a mark of respect for his moral and intellectual worth. Iolo was born 1746; died 1826.

Thomas Maurice, born 1754, claimed descent from the Princes of Powys. He was assistant-keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum. Among his published works were: *Indian Antiquities*, 1791; *History of Hindostan*, 1795; second volume, 1798; and third volume, 1799. In 1802 he published his *Modern History of Hindostan.* He died 1824.

Aneurin Owen, born 1792, the son of Dr. William Owen-Pughe, became successor to John Humffreys Parry in the preparation of the early history of the British Isles for the Government, and his *Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales*, which was a compilation and translation of the laws of Hywel Dda, was a work of great value. He died 1851.

Thomas Richards, who was Rector of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, from 1713 to 1718, was recognised at Oxford as the best Latin poet since Virgil. His elegy on the death of Queen Caroline, in Latin hexameters, was accepted as the production of a classical scholar, but he rose into prominence

chiefly as the author of *Hoglandiæ*, which was a reply to a satire upon the Welsh, in the form of a poem by Holdsworth, entitled *Muscipulæ*. Richards died 1760.

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, born 1815, Dean of Westminster, was Welsh on his grandmother's side. In 1844 he published *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, which was translated into several languages. He was Chaplain to Prince Albert, and in 1856 was appointed Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford. He was the author of other well-known works. He died 1881.

Sir Monier Williams, brother of Charles R. Williams, of Dolmelynllyn, Dolgelly, was the author of a Sanskrit-English Dictionary which took him over twenty years to prepare, and which was regarded as a great original production, His translation of the Sanskrit drama *Sakuntala* (1853) was included among Sir John Lubbock's list of the hundred best books. He was Professor of Oriental Languages at Haileybury, 1844–58; Professor of Sanskrit at Cheltenham, 1858–60; and was made boarding Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, 1860. He was elected Fellow of Balliol College at Oxford in 1882, and afterwards became Keeper and Curator of the Indian Institute at Oxford. He was knighted 1887. Born 1819, died 1899.

John Winter Jones, born 1805, principal librarian of the British Museum, was the son of John Jones, of Lambeth, whose family came from Carmarthenshire. He edited and translated several books for the Hakluyt Society, and wrote a number of articles for the Biographical Dictionary. He was a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries. He died 1881.

Chancellor Daniel Silvan Evans, the Welsh lexicographer, born 1818, was a native of Llanarth, Carmarthenshire. He established his reputation in 1858, by the publication of his English-Welsh Dictionary. He was a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. He was a prolific author, but his great work, the Welsh-English Dictionary, upon which he laboured for over forty years, he left incomplete at the time of his death. He died 1903.

The first Rector of the Edinburgh Academy was a Welshman—Archdeacon John Williams. He was born at

Ystradmeurig, Cardiganshire, April 11, 1792, and was brought up in an atmosphere of classical learning and tradition. Sir Walter Scott said that he was "the best schoolmaster in Europe." For a period of twenty-two years he filled that position with conspicuous ability. He rendered great service to Scotland by raising her general standard of scholarship, and by broadening the foundation of her education. Among his pupils were Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, Principal Shairp of St. Andrews, James Clerk-Maxwell, Professor Sellar, Frederick W. Robertson of Brighton, Charles Mackenzie, and W. E. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin. In the circle of his friends were Lord Cockburn, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Lord Jeffrey, Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Chalmers, and Thomas Carlyle. He was a man of great intellectual power and of ample scholarship, who left a lasting impression on the whole of Scotland. He arrested the migration of the sons of the upper classes to English schools to be educated; he revived and strengthened classical education, and checked the spread of utilitarianism so prevalent in Scotland in that generation. Colvin Smith was commissioned in 1841 to paint a portrait of Williams, and it hangs in the great hall of the Academy. There is also a marble bust of him, by Joseph Edwards, in the library of Balliol. His *Homerus* was a substantial contribution in proof of the essential unity of the Homeric poems, and his works on Alexander and Julius Cæsar gave him a great reputation as a scholar and literary critic.

In that wonderful generation there flourished another distinguished Welshman who made a substantial contribution to learning,—the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., historian, metaphysician, scholar, and theologian. He was a man profoundly versed in the various systems of Eastern philosophy, and his prize essay, value £500, on the comparative merits of Hinduism and Christianity, was recognised by the foremost scholars in Europe as a standard work of reference respecting philosophy, history, and the ethical significance of Hinduism on its religious side. His *Essays and Reviews*, published in the year 1860, brought him into great prominence. He composed a drama on Owain Glyn Dwr, in answer to the charge made against Owain, that he had

promised assistance to Hotspur in his rebellion against Bolingbroke. Among his other works was his Review of Bunsen's *Biblical Researches*. He was born 1817, at Halkyn, in Flintshire; died 1870.

In the field of education mention should be made of Sir John Phillipps, of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire. The great work of his life was with the charity school movement in Wales, in connexion with which he spent both time and money. He it was who first directed the attention of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to the needs of the Principality. He was one of the most energetic of the Commissioners engaged in the erection of fifty new churches in and about the City of London. He was born 1662, and died 1736.

Humphrey Owen, born 1712, Bodley's librarian and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, superintended the removal of the Arundel marbles from the gallery to a special room, and took over the Clarendon and Carte papers, and the Walker, Ballard, Holman, and Rawlinson manuscripts. He died 1768.

It was at the instigation of a Welshman, in the person of William Williams, M.P., that the Imperial Government decided to send Commissioners to inquire into the state of education in Wales. In 1848 he addressed a letter to Lord John Russell on the Report of the Commissioners. He, together with Kilsby Jones, sought to convert the Welsh to the principle of accepting State aid in the matter of secular education. He it was who started the agitation which resulted in the founding of three Universities for Wales. Williams was M.P. for Coventry, 1835–47; Lambeth, 1850–65. He was born at Tredarren, Carmarthenshire, 1788; died 1865.

Dr. Caleb Evans, great-grandfather of the Right Rev. Handley Carr Glyn Moule, D.D., the present Bishop of Durham, was one of the Presidents of the Bristol Baptist College, and the founder of the Bristol Education Society, which provided education for a large number of ministerial students. The gracious evangelical influence which has permeated the character and work of the Bishop of Durham

owes no little to Dr. Caleb Evans. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Hugh Evans, and was born in 1737. His first settlement as a minister over a congregation was in the Metropolis; but he relinquished this charge and returned to Bristol, and after a few years became pastor of Broadmead Baptist Church, in conjunction with his father. His ministry in that church extended altogether over a period of thirty-two years. He was also for a large portion of this time connected with the Baptist College, of which, after his father's death, he became the resident tutor. During the latter part of Dr. Caleb Evans's life, the celebrated Robert Hall was his assistant in the ministry. Robert Hall joined the Bristol Baptist College in 1778, when under the superintendence of the Rev. Hugh Evans, and he was still a student when Dr. Caleb Evans became Principal at his father's death. Dr. Evans admired his talents, and regarded him with affection; but, unfortunately, some misunderstanding arose between them, which caused deep pain to Dr. Evans, and seriously affected his health. Dr. Caleb Evans's degree of D.D. was conferred upon him *honoris causa* by the University of St. Andrews. He was the author, *inter alia*, of three sermons on "Christ Crucified," which were spoken of with high admiration by Henry Venn the elder. The present Bishop of Durham's mother was Dr. Caleb Evans's granddaughter. He died 1791.

Froude's successor as Regius Professor of Modern History was a Welshman, in the person of Frederick York Powell. He was born at Bloomsbury, London, in 1850. In 1874 he was appointed Law Lecturer at Oxford; and in 1894 he succeeded Froude. He had mastered the Romance and Scandinavian languages, and his lectures upon the sources of English history attracted the best historical students of Oxford. He was the author of many important works, among them being: *Early England up to the Norman Conquest* (1876); *Alfred the Great and William the Conqueror*; *Old Stories from British History* (1882); *History of England for the Use of Middle Forms of Schools* (1885). He died 1904.

What have Welshmen done in the region of social and political science?

Richard Price, born 1723, a native of Tynton, Bridgend, Glamorganshire, was a political writer of considerable note. Not less than sixty thousand copies of his *Observations on Civil Liberty, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*, published 1776, were sold. In the year 1778 he was invited by the American Congress to go over to help them to regulate their finances, but he declined. The Corporation of London presented him with the freedom of the City. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a D.D. of Glasgow University. Among his other works were *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt*, and an essay on Patriotism. He died 1791.

The founder of the Royal Literary Fund was a Welshman, in the person of David Williams, who was born at Waunwaelod, Watford, 1738. He it was who drafted the first Constitution of the first French Republic. He devoted the greater part of his life to the furthering of the cause of freedom and of popular education. He was on terms of friendship with the intellectual leaders of England and of Europe—Sir Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith, Rousseau, and Voltaire. He died June 29, 1816, and was buried in St. Ann's, Soho.

The father of English Socialism and Co-operation was Robert Owen, who was born at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in 1771. He was a man of many ideas, and pre-eminently an experimentalist. It was thought by some critics that he theorised too much, but Owen never did anything haphazard, or without serious reflection. The chief interest of his life lies in his unselfish and heroic efforts to improve the lot of British workmen, and to provide suitable education for their children. Among the ideas that animated him were the reduction of the poor rate, the re-moralising of the masses, the extinction of pauperism, and the creation of a closer bond of union between Capital and Labour. He began his economic operations on the principle that labour was the standard of value and the source of wealth. His Labour Exchange was founded on the view that it was highly injurious to the community to have an inactive population that might be put to productive employment. The function

of the political economist, he contended, was not to emphasise social distress and merely to relieve it, but to cure it by removing the causes. His plan of Labour Exchange, which was organised in 1832, was meant to apply to the unemployed and partially unemployed. It did not interfere with the existing system. His aim was to establish a centre of exchange, in which every worker who produced anything of exchangeable value might dispose of it, and receive its value in time notes at market value, and the time spent in its production was calculated at the rate of sixpence per hour; a charge of a penny in the shilling being made to cover the cost of management. So that what passed from the hand of one man to another practically passed at the cost of production. Under such a system every unemployed hand might be converted into an employed hand, and untold suffering prevented. Owen never deluded himself into the belief that such a system would eradicate all the evils growing out of unemployment, and he realised that there were serious difficulties in the way, for there are many employments in which those who work do not produce what could be exchanged; but he felt, and rightly felt, that the system would enormously increase the productive capacity of the masses of the people. Noyes, in his *History of American Socialism*, states that Owen borrowed his idea from Josiah Warren, when they met at New Harmony in 1826, but Owen had expounded his views on Labour Exchange in 1820. The project failed, principally through want of capital. No such scheme could be successful that did not provide the labourer with the means of production, in the shape of food and raw material. To have the skill to produce is not sufficient; and the question of accommodation is an important one.

The Labour Exchange, like the Co-operative Stores, which Owen fathered, were only methods of approach towards the ideal that animated him. The failure was only a failure of method. Instead of diminishing, it increased his ardour, and strengthened his determination to extend the operations of his Socialistic campaign. The Store Movement was commenced about 1822, ten years before the Labour Exchange. An attempt was made to kill it with ridicule. But Owen's

position was that there might as well be companies of workmen as companies of capitalists, and that a joint-labour company was as practicable as a joint-stock company. But before the days of Owen the former had not been invented, whereas the latter were already in vogue, which made all the difference in the world. He saw what enormous profits the working men were constantly giving away by not doing their own marketing; and his object was to enable working men to keep such profits in their own hands. These were some of the advantages of co-operation that were preached by Owen and those who sympathised with him. By the end of 1831 the number of societies had reached two hundred and fifty. The "bonus" or "dividend" system, which is so prominent a feature of the present co-operative movement, was not a part of Owen's scheme; the profits being funded to the credit of the investors as capital for the employment of labour. This proved a source of weakness in the operation of the movement. Among other causes which militated against its success at the time were the spirit of selfishness that was engendered, the incapacity and dishonesty of storekeepers and managers, and the lack of union.

Owen's plans for the creation of industrial villages, and the remarkable success which followed his efforts in that direction, gave him a name and a fame beyond the confines of Scotland. Looking at the problem from a business, as well as a moral, view-point, he considered it was criminal to appropriate great wealth, and the power such wealth brought with it, simply in order to augment it, and to exalt one class at the expense of another. Inspired by such sentiments, he interested himself in the cause of the education of the young. Men, he thought, were the creatures of circumstance, and it was a civic and a Christian duty to bring them into conditions favourable to the development of high character. He was not a faddist, as may be seen from the moral and financial support he gave to Lancaster. But he believed that Lancaster's system was infinitesimal compared with the requirements of the country. Owen desired not only to distribute the operations of education, but to improve its character. He was more in sympathy with Lancaster than

Bell, for Bell's scheme excluded Dissenters. He subscribed generously to Bell's system on the ground that it helped to spread intelligence by instruction, and though his first efforts to induce Bell's Committee to include Dissenters failed, he ultimately succeeded. One striking feature of Owen's school system at Lanark was that children were received and instructed at the age of one year, or as soon as they could manage to walk; children of both sexes were brought up together to the age of twelve, when they had the option of entering the works if their parents wished, and thus contribute, by their labour, to the support of the family. The parents paid three shillings a year for the education of each child, but as the actual cost for each child amounted to two pounds, the company paid the difference. In his autobiographical sketch Owen says: "All the houses in the village, with 150 acres of land around it, formed a part of an establishment, which united, and working together as one machine, proceeded day by day with the regularity of clockwork." Henry Hose, the then cashier for the Bank of England, said, "It looks like the work of generations." "I wish to God," said Sir W. de Crespigny, M.P., "I could always see such sights in this country." "No language," observed Lord Torrington, "can do justice to the excellence of the establishment." As many as seventy strangers could be seen, at one time, attending the early morning service in connexion with the schools. Among those who visited the schools, in order to witness the working of the scheme, were the Grand Duke Nicholas, afterwards Emperor of Russia, and many foreign Princes and Ambassadors. The Sovereign of Saxony presented Owen with a gold medal as a mark of appreciation.

The Bill dealing with the factory system, which was introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1819, was due almost entirely to the exertions of Owen, though it was not in accordance with the one Owen himself had drafted for that statesman. It took four years to pass it through Parliament, and its best features were practically destroyed in the process. But it completely altered the relations of employers and employed in the cotton factories of the country, and in the

end wrought great changes over the whole field of the nation's industry. Owen killed the doctrine of divine right on the part of owners of factories and workshops, and established the right of the State to intervene industrially when the necessity arose.

Owen went over to America in 1824, where he purchased the estates of New Harmony from the Rappites with the view of making a practical experiment of his own plans on his own land. The American experiment was a failure. But while in America he was treated with profound respect by men of eminence belonging to all parties. He gave, by request, a course of lectures from the Speaker's chair in the room of the House of Representatives at Washington—the Cabinet, the Senate, and the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States being present. He returned to England at the end of 1825.

In looking at Owen and his noble efforts we must have regard to the fact that the working classes of this country were then at the mercy of their employers; individually and separately they were powerless, and the combination laws prevented them from acting collectively, either for defence or attack. Since the repeal of those unjust laws, much has been done, by trades unionism and co-operation, to improve the conditions under which working men have to labour. Reform was a dreaded word in those days; every attempt at the elevation of the masses, socially and intellectually, was sure to awaken distrust and hatred; and, strange to relate, the attempt to discredit such exertions was made on religious as well as on economic grounds. There were a few enlightened public men for whom the term "progress" had no terrors, yet, after the close of the French War, all proposals which sought to uplift and educate the toiling multitude of the land were looked upon as covert designs to subvert religion, confiscate property, and undermine the throne.

In closing this notice of Owen and his manifold labours, it would be interesting to point out a few outstanding facts which came to light in the course of his propaganda. He received no support from the common rank of Whigs and Tories. He was opposed by ministers of religion on the

ground that his proposals were inimical to the interests of Christianity; he derived no support, either financial or otherwise, from the working classes whose special friend he was—they always have been suspicious of any proposal, even when initiated for their undoubted benefit, and have never given any financial response to any such schemes. Liberal and Radical politicians met his advances with unmitigated hostility. The Press supported him conditionally. They inserted his addresses and speeches on the understanding that he would make large purchases of the papers that inserted them. In connexion with the meeting held in the City of London Tavern in 1837, he bought thirty thousand extra copies, and had them sent to every parish minister in the kingdom, to every member of both Houses of Parliament, the magistrates, bankers, and leading laymen all over the country. He spent thousands of pounds in this manner. On one occasion the mail coach was twenty minutes late on account of the heavy mail due to the enormous number of papers and pamphlets that Owen had sent out. It would be too much to say that Owen was right in all his theories as to the causes of social misery, or that his methods were the best, though many of his schemes, and which were condemned in his day as revolutionary, have since been adopted. The methods of improvement which he suggested with regard to the factory system have had to be followed. He was an honour to his race, and a benefactor to all time. He died 1858.

Thomas Richard Lloyd, born 1820, the son of the Rev. John Lloyd, rector of Cerrig-y-Drudion, North Wales, was the founder of the Blue Ribbon movement. He was vicar of Llanfynydd, in Flintshire. He recommended all abstainers in his parish to wear a piece of blue ribbon as a badge, and the movement which he initiated assumed national proportions. He died 1893.

Coming into the religious and ecclesiastical world, there are not less than a hundred Welshmen who have held bishoprics in Wales, England, America, and the Colonies. A number of them have rendered lasting service to the cause of religion and literature. Reference has already been made to Bishop Morgan, who gave us the Welsh Bible in 1588, and

Archbishop John Williams of York, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal under Charles I. Thomas Parry, a Flintshire man, born 1795, who was consecrated Bishop of the Barbadoes in 1842, had charge of the Welsh part of the edition of the ancient historians which the Government decided to issue in 1823. The first Welshman, since 1727, who served as Bishop in his own country, was Bishop Joshua Hughes, who was appointed to the Bishopric of St. Asaph in 1870. The appointment was not favourably received on the ground that he was not a University man; but his character, administration, and devotion to the welfare of the Church and of the people, abundantly justified his appointment.

Richard Lewis, born 1820, son of John Lewis, of Henllan, Pembrokeshire, was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff 1883. He attained some notoriety by declining to induct two Englishmen, preferred by the Marquis of Abergavenny, to Welsh districts, on the ground that only Welsh-speaking clergymen could properly perform their duties in such parishes. He died 1905.

William Lloyd, born 1637, the son of the Rev. Edward Lloyd, rector of Llangower, Merionethshire, was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff 1675, made Bishop of Peterborough 1679, and Bishop of Norwich 1685. He was, however, removed from the Norwich bishopric in the year 1691 for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and lived the rest of his life in retirement. He died 1710.

There are a few Welshmen of note who occupied positions of some eminence in the Roman Catholic Church.

Dr. Maurice Clynnog, a native of Clynnog, Carnarvonshire, was appointed chaplain to Cardinal Pole in 1548. Queen Mary designated him for the Bishopric of Bangor in 1558, but the changes brought about by the death of the Queen, which occurred before his consecration, caused him to flee to Rome. He was made Camerarius of the English hospital there in 1567, and warden 1578, a position which he held up to the time of his death, and which is supposed to have taken place in the year 1581. He was appointed the first Rector of the English College at Rome in the year 1579, but the Pope dismissed him very shortly afterwards

on account of a disagreement between the English and the Welsh students, he being held responsible for the trouble.

Dr. Gruffudd Roberts, a native of Trefalun, Denbighshire, was another Welsh Roman Catholic who had to seek refuge in Rome during the troublous times which followed the death of Queen Mary. He was made Archdeacon of Anglesey October 9, 1558, but was deprived of his benefice. He was appointed chaplain of the English hospital at Rome in 1564, and in 1566 Cardinal Borromeo appointed him Canon Theological of Milan. He afterwards became Professor of Philosophy at Milan, and Cardinal Borromeo's confessor. He was named for a Cardinal's hat 1595.

Father John Salisbury, a native of Merioneth, and born in the year 1575, was a founder of the College of St. Francis Xavier in the year 1622. He had previously been appointed the Superior of the North and South Wales district, and had done much missionary work for the Roman Church in North Wales. He was appointed Procurator of the English province to Rome in the year 1625, but he died before reaching Rome.

Dr. Roger Smith, born 1546, and a native of St. Asaph, became a member of the Bridgettine Order in the year 1582, then established at Rouen. He removed to Paris 1596, for the purpose of founding a college for the education of priests, but he did not succeed. He died 1625. These three men were the Welsh exponents of the counter-Reformation movement. They wrote, and translated much Latin literature into Welsh, in the hope of impressing their fellow-countrymen. All their writings and translations were based upon the Roman Catholic view-point.

Roger Bede Vaughan, who was Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney in the year 1877, and Herbert Vaughan, who was made Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster in 1892, and Cardinal by Pope Leo XIII. in 1893, together with his brother, Father Bernard Vaughan, now of London, and author of the *Sins of Society*, are descended from old Welsh families.

Of the late Dean Vaughan's Welsh pedigree there is no doubt; it is given in detail by his nephew, Professor C.

Vaughan, of Leeds, in my *Welsh Political and Educational Leaders*. Dr. Jowett, the late Master of Balliol, said of him, "He was the wisest man I ever knew." He was Headmaster of Harrow at the age of twenty-eight, and within two years of his appointment the numbers had risen from sixty to two hundred. Before he resigned his post they stood at a higher point than they had ever reached in the previous history of the school. His signal services to the school, and to the unusually large number of able youths who had been under his tuition, were recorded on the minutes, by the trustees, at the time of his resignation. His success was due quite as much to his character as to his brilliant gifts of intellect, and his power of waking a response in the mind of his pupils. His sermons have not enjoyed the popularity accorded to others of a more superficial character; but they were characterised by a beauty of style, a depth of religious feeling, which stamped him as a man of high classical training, strong religious instincts, and breadth of mind. He was a good speaker, but preferred the written to the spoken word. Within a few weeks of his departure from Harrow, Lord Palmerston offered him the Bishopric of Rochester, the acceptance of which he withdrew two days later. He went to Doncaster in 1860, where he perfected his gifts as a preacher, and where he rendered signal services to the Church and to religion. When he resigned the Town Council placed his portrait in the Town Hall. It is worthy of note that sixty young men had been prepared by him for ordination during his stay at Doncaster, and it is likewise worthy of note that the instruction which he gave was given gratuitously. Before his death the number had reached four hundred and fifty. This new departure of his marked a new era in the Church of England. The multiplication of Anglican theological colleges, which followed, was mainly owing to his action. In 1869 he accepted the Mastership of the Temple, where he found audiences more critical than it would be easy to find in any other place of worship in London. He continued his work of training candidates for ordination. In 1879 he accepted the Deanery of Llandaff, and returned to the country from which his family had originally sprung. Though Welsh by

blood, he never acquired a knowledge of the language, but he took great interest in the educational development of South Wales at a very critical time in its history. In recognition of his valuable services he was elected President of the Cardiff University in 1894. He died October 15, 1897.

This catalogue of names would, manifestly, be incomplete without reference to such men as Hugh Price Hughes, whose noteworthy labours with the West London Mission gave him a name and a fame in two hemispheres. He was the son of John Hughes, surgeon, Carmarthen, and was born 1847. He was editor of the *Methodist Times* from 1885 till his death, and was elected President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1898. He was the author of many valuable works, bearing upon the "Forward Movement," of which he was the leading exponent in the latter half of the nineteenth century, such as *Ethical Christianity*, *Social Christianity*, etc. He died 1902.

Thomas Jones, known as "the poet-preacher," was another Welshman who added to the credit of his race; his fame reached the Antipodes. During his pastorate at the Albany Chapel, Regent's Park, London, he attracted, and retained, the attention of some of the leading social and intellectual men of his generation. Among them may be mentioned Robert Browning, the poet, Dr. Godwin, Dr. Young, who wrote *The Christ of History*, James Stratten, and other leading personalities. He was elected Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1871. He was the father of Sir David Brynmor Jones, M.P., Mr. Leif Jones, and the late Viriamu Jones, who was Principal of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire from 1883 to 1901. Thomas Jones was born at Rhayader, Radnorshire, 1819; he died 1882.

Caleb Morris, born in 1800, at Parcyd, near Foeldrigarn, Pembrokeshire, was another Welshman who maintained the high reputation of the Welsh pulpit in the Metropolis. He settled in 1827 as joint pastor at Fetter Lane, and subsequently took the sole charge. There was in his preaching a simplicity, an elevation, and an ardour, a tenderness, thought-

fulness, and power, that gave him a foremost place as a preacher of the Word. He was as distinguished for his modesty and wealth of heart as he was for his natural talents and pulpit acquirements. He died 1865.

The Rev. Dr. Herber Evans, born 1836, and who died on the last day but one of the year 1896, was almost as well known in England as a preacher as he was in Wales. Never would it be possible for those who heard him to forget the burning utterances that were struck off from his soul. He was a man of keen imagination, great spiritual insight, and probably the most childlike giant of his generation. His services were in constant demand both in England and Wales. His lectures on David Livingstone and Oliver Cromwell were listened to with eagerness by thousands, and when he died he was a man of growing influence.

It is a noteworthy fact that Wales, a country that has attained such pre-eminence in the religious world, and in the art of Gospel preaching, should have so little to its credit in the work of evangelising the heathen abroad. It is far behind Scotland, who can claim one foreign missionary to every twelve hundred of its members. The Moravians have one missionary to every sixty of their members. The missionary spirit has never been highly cultivated in the theological colleges of the Welsh Free Churches, and the missionary atmosphere is as low, in this generation, as it has ever been. What is true of the colleges is necessarily true of the churches, for the one is the reflex of the other. Not a single son of a Welsh Nonconformist minister has gone from Wales to take up foreign mission work under the auspices of the London Missionary Society since the year 1795. The Calvinistic Methodists have two sons and three daughters of ministers who have gone out since 1840. The Baptist Foreign Missions have done something in this direction. Dr. Jenkins, of Hengoed, sent his son John out as a missionary to Brittany in 1834, and his son's son, A. Ll. Jenkins, is there now as a missionary. Dr. Timothy Richards, one of the greatest Welsh missionaries in China, is a Baptist and a native of Carmarthenshire; he was educated at Haverfordwest Baptist College, and went to China in 1869.

The idea still prevails in Wales, and among Welshmen generally, that John Williams, the martyr-missionary of Eromanga, was a Welshman, but there is no historical foundation for the supposition. He was born at Tottenham High Cross, London, June 29, 1776. His parents were undoubtedly English; and his social and religious associations were entirely English. He knew no Welsh, never manifested any interest in Welsh movements, and there is not on record any observation or statement of his which connected him or his ancestors with Wales or the Welsh. It is true that in some of the Welsh dictionaries of "Eminent Welshmen" John Williams is claimed as a Welshman, but the only evidence of the fact we have in such dictionaries is the bare statement: "He was of Welsh descent." But surely that is not enough to make a man a Welshman. The burden of proof lies upon those who make such statements, and who make them without producing any evidence, and in face of the fact that his parents were English, and that he himself neither claimed nor admitted any Welsh connexion. This crude method of claiming so many distinguished men as Welshmen, simply because their names sound Welsh, and because that certain Welshmen have supposed them to be Welsh, is one of the reasons that makes Welsh history from an English view-point, or the view-point of sound historical criticism, so unreliable and misleading. I am supported in my contention regarding the nationality of John Williams of Eromanga, not only by the fact of his English parentage, associations, and antecedents, but also by the authorities of the London Missionary Society.

In a dictionary of "Eminent Welshmen," recently published, and which Eisteddfodic adjudicators described as a work of "much discrimination," the Rev. Edward Roberts, of Zion, Cwmavon, is described as an "orator of the highest order." This is not only incorrect, but ludicrous. He was not even a good speaker. A philosopher he was, by birth and education—a man who knew his Bible, and who understood human nature—an administrator of supreme aptitude. As a speaker, he was simple, yet profound; clear, concise, practical, and proverbially brief. But he was not an orator. He never claimed to be one, and was never regarded as such.

I was brought up under his ministry, and in intimate association with him. These are examples of the carelessness exhibited by Welshmen, in the use of expression, and in the interpretation of facts.

There is a tradition that William Morris, the poet, was a Welshman; but it has no foundation in fact, and is based merely on the friendship that existed between him and Burne Jones, the artist, who, undoubtedly, was a Welshman. Humorous and tragic efforts have been made to show that "George Eliot" descended from an old Welsh family in the remote past, and it has been claimed that the name—Marian Evans—gives colour to the supposition; but there is nothing in it, and the matter is not worth perusing. It is admitted that there was a distinct trace of Welsh genius in George Meredith. He chanced to be born in England, and was virtually cut off from the literature of Wales. He was never led to deal in a definite manner with Welsh life and characteristics; yet there was a noteworthy Cymric note in his nature. His English was Saxon and solid, but the light of Celtic wit played over it.

The practice of dragging every fish into the Welsh net has been carried on to an unwarrantable extent. Who is a Welshman? The legal definition of *Welsh* given in the Statute of Jesus College, passed by Parliament, is (*a*) natives of Wales or Monmouthshire; (*b*) sons of a father or mother who was born in Wales or Monmouthshire, or who has been resident there for a period of not less than seven years immediately preceding the day of election; (*c*) persons who have a knowledge of and are able to speak the Welsh language; or (*d*), persons who have been educated for three years last preceding the election (or last preceding their matriculation if members of the University) at a school or schools in Wales or Monmouthshire.

In Scotland there is a fixed rule. When a Scotsman goes to England and marries an English lady, the children brought up in England are recognised as English, not Scottish. Hood, though of Scottish extraction, is really looked upon in Scotland as an Englishman. The same remark applies to John Stuart Mill. His mother was English, and he lived in England. James Mill, his father, was born in Scotland, and is

more properly included in my chapter dealing with that country. In Wales there is no recognised standard; but if a Welshman is Welsh by blood on either side, whether he lives in or out of Wales, he is generally regarded a Welshman. There is, however, a prevailing tendency not to include among Welshmen those whose fathers or mothers were born out of Wales, except it be in America or the Colonies; and especially it is so when the grandfathers or grandmothers have been born out of Wales. When a man is Welsh on both sides, he is considered a Welshman even if his grandparents have been born out of Wales.

Reverting to the place of Wales in Foreign Missions, a prominent position must be assigned to Thomas Coke, a native of Brecon, born 1747, and who graduated LL.D. at Jesus College 1775. He did good work for the Wesleyan Methodists in North America. He made nine voyages to America, was an uncompromising enemy of the slave traffic, and devoted much of his time to establish mission stations in Africa, France, Scotland, and Ireland. In 1800 he propounded a scheme for the introduction of Wesleyan Methodism into Wales through the medium of the Welsh language. He died 1814.

John Davies, born 1772, at Llanfihangel, Montgomeryshire, was accepted by the London Missionary Society in February 1800. He arrived at Tahiti, in the South Sea Islands, on July 10, 1801. He published several works in the Tahiti language, including many hymns, some of which were translations from the Welsh. He died 1855. He was the first modern Welsh missionary to the heathen of whom we have any record.

David Jones, born 1794, at Llanarth, in Monmouthshire, left Wales for Madagascar 1826. He published a dictionary, and assisted in the translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* into the Malagasy language.

The first Malagasy translation of the entire Bible was compiled and completed by two Welsh missionaries—David Griffiths, a native of Glanmeilwch, Carmarthenshire, born December 20, 1792, and David Jones, born near Aberaeron Cardiganshire, in 1798.

The late Dr. Maurice Phillips, who died at Southport, at the age of seventy-two, and who was born at Llanboidy, South Wales, April 11, 1838, was a man who occupied a foremost place among Welsh missionaries. He started his ministerial career at the Siloa Welsh Congregational Church, Aberdare, of which the Rev. D. Silyn Evans is now pastor. He was ordained at Narberth, August 14, 1861, sailing for Tripatoor on September 11 of the same year. In the year 1891 he was appointed as a deputation to the Australasian Colonies. He arrived at Adelaide April 1, and visited South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, and New South Wales. He published *The Teaching of the Vedas*, 1895. He laboured in India for about fifty years, where his name was a household word among those who were engaged in the same work as himself. He was endowed with special gifts, intellectual and enthusiastic, which peculiarly fitted him for the special sphere in which he had laboured in India, and which enabled him to understand the character of the Hindoo religion.

Thomas Jones, born 1810, near Tanyffridd, Llanfair, Montgomeryshire, was the first missionary to the Khassia Hills, in North-Eastern Bengal. He translated the Gospel of St. Matthew, and other works, into the native language. He died at Calcutta, 1849. He was a missionary under the auspices of the Calvinistic Methodists, and was the first missionary belonging to that Society.

Thomas Powell, born 1818, a Congregational minister of Welsh descent, sailed for Samoa in 1845, where he laboured for three years. He spent one year in the New Hebrides. He returned to Samoa in 1849, which was his field of labour until 1885. He contributed to the last edition of the Samoan Dictionary; he also prepared an edition of the New Testament and Psalms in Samoan. He published in 1868 *A Brief Account of Savage Island, and The Work of the Gospel among its People.* He translated, in 1877, *Lloyd's Bible Catechism* into Samoan. It is stated that as many as two hundred and four of the three hundred and seventy-two hymns in the Samoan hymn-book were composed by him. His work on zoology, composed in the Samoan dialect,

is the standard text-book in the native colleges. He died 1887.

Roger Price, born 1834, at Merthyr Cynog, Breconshire, was appointed by the London Missionary Society to labour among the Makololo. In 1867 he went to Logageng, where he laboured until 1884, when he left for Kuruman to act in the capacity of tutor at the Moffat Institute. He died 1900, after completing forty-two years of missionary service.

Of all the men who have laboured in foreign lands there has never been a greater Christian than Griffith John, for whose heroism, steadfastness, and unselfishness this generation, and many that are yet to come, will be thankful to Heaven. A man of massive soul, yet so simple, so transparently sincere, and so full of the sense of the presence of God, for himself he has sought nothing, but for his Master much. He is totally without personal vanity, and wholly consecrated to the welfare of the people amongst whom he has laboured for so many years, and for the honour of the London Missionary Society, which has accomplished such remarkable work during the period of its existence. Griffith John was born December 14, 1831, at Swansea; was ordained April 6, 1855, at Ebenezer Chapel, Swansea. He sailed for China, May 21, 1855; arriving at Shanghai September 24 of the same year. In 1858 he established stations at Sung Kiang and other places; and in that and subsequent years made extended tours into the interior. In July 1861 he removed to Hankow, and in conjunction with Robert Wilson, a native of Workington, he commenced missionary work, and laid the foundation of a permanent station in that city. On April 1, 1868, Dr. John, accompanied by Mr. Alexander Wilie, set out on a tour into the interior, visiting Chengtu, the capital of Sichuan, and Hanchung, in Shensi, and after travelling 3000 miles, returned to Hankow September 4 of the same year. Soon after his return to Hankow he took up his residence at Wuchang. On September 30, 1870, he, with Mrs. John, arrived in England, and on May 8, 1872, he preached the annual sermon for the Society at Surrey Chapel, sailing for China February 8, 1873. Dr. John arrived at Hankow April 25, where he resumed his former duties at

that station. From 1860 onwards, he made various contributions to the Christian literature of China. In 1885 Dr. John published a version of the New Testament in the Wen-li dialect of China. In 1888 he was elected Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales for the ensuing year; but in view of important work claiming his attention at Hankow, he felt it necessary to decline the honour. In 1889 the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Edinburgh. In 1910 he published a work entitled *A Voice from China.*

What has Wales done for America? It is not necessary to dwell upon the spurious claims made on behalf of Madoc ab Owain Gwynedd as the first discoverer of that continent. Wales has laid America under solid obligations to her, for she has added to the cerebral power of the nation. She has added to the national activity, to national industry, national wealth, and national intelligence. The Welsh have, since the early days of the Commonwealth, sown germs in the soil and distributed the inherent qualities of the Welsh character,—their love of freedom, gift of song, healthy habits of conviviality, political insight, and the play of their imagination.

Roger Williams, the founder of the State of Rhode Island, and one of the early apostles of toleration, was of a Carmarthenshire family. He was born in 1599, probably in London, though the evidence is not conclusive. He attracted the attention of Sir Edward Coke by his shorthand notes of sermons and of speeches in the Star Chamber. He emigrated to America in 1631, and founded the first Baptist Church in the new city of Providence, in the State which he founded. He engaged the mind of Milton, who spoke of him as a noble confessor of religious liberty.

Among those who signed the Declaration of Independence there was one Welshman—Francis Lewis, who was born at Llandaff, Glamorganshire, 1713. There were seventeen who may be said to have been of Welsh extraction, or to be connected, by ties of marriage, with Welsh families: Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Stephen Hopkins, William Williams, William Floyd, Lewis

Morris, George Hancock, Francis Hopkinson, George Clymer, John Morton, John Penn, Arthur Middleton, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Henry Lightfoot Lee, Button Gwinneth.

There have been six Presidents of the United States who, on good historical grounds, are said to have been of Welsh descent: Thomas Jefferson, William Henry Harrison, Benjamin Harrison, James Madison, John Adams, John Quincy Adams.

John T. Morgan, born 1824, an old-time Southern Democrat, who was an American Senator of power and distinction, and who represented Alabama for thirty years, publicly avowed that he was of Welsh nationality.

John Francis, born 1823, at Prattsburg, Stuben County, New York, was the son of Richard Francis, of Llys-y-fran, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire. He served for a term of three years as Minister to Greece, in the administration of General Grant. He was Minister to Portugal under President Arthur; in 1882 he was made Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Austro-Hungary.

One of the two men who founded the *New York Times* was a Welshman, in the person of George Jones, the son of John Jones, of Llanwyddelan, Montgomeryshire. He was also its editor.

The author of the invention known as the "Jones Mixer," and the supreme developer of the American steel-making industry, was William R. Jones, born 1839. The vice-president of the Steel Trust said that Jones accomplished fully as much as Mushet, or Sir Henry Bessemer.

One of the pioneers in the development of the iron industries of Southern Ohio, and the founder of the Jefferson Iron Furnace Company, was John D. Davies, born 1822 in the Aeron Valley, South Wales.

Benjamin William Chidlaw, a social reformer, was one of the most useful Welshmen that ever took part in the public life of America. He founded thousands of Sunday Schools, both in the West and in the Central States. His *Notes of a Journey from Ohio to Wales*, and a *History of the Welsh Institutions in America*, etc., prove that he was of Welsh parentage.

Jonathan Edwards, author of *The Freedom of the Will*, was of Welsh extraction; and Justin Edwards, one of the founders

of the "Boston Tract Society," and for six years President of Andover Seminary, was born of Welsh parents; so was Dr. William Charles Roberts, of Lake Forest University, and Dr. Llewelyn Ioan Evans, Professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis at Cincinnati, one of the most scholarly men in the American pulpit.

All over America, North, South, East, and West, there have been Welshmen who have laboured for the spread of virtue and morality, freedom of commerce, the local rights of the States, the dignity and power of the National Sovereignty. At every point of America's vitality, in legislation, industry, education, and religion, they have been among the most desirable of citizens, adding strength to the Republic, and enlarging the usefulness of its laws and institutions.

Not only in America, but also in Australia, do we find traces of Welshmen who have distinguished themselves by their gifts of preaching and administration.

As a fitting end to this rather lengthy reference to the service of Wales and Welshmen to the world at large, I quote the words of Sir James Mackintosh: "It was not till the reigns of the Tudors, 'Britannia's issue,' that wise attempts were made to humanise the Welsh by equal laws. Their language withheld many of them from contributing to English literature; and yet their small numbers, their constant disorder, and their multiplied links of dependence, repressed a genius which might otherwise assume a national form. If considered, as they now should be, as a part of the people of England, their contributions have been by no means inadequate to reasonable expectations. But the mental produce of a nation has been inconsistently expected from a people robbed of national character, and who are only now reappearing on a footing of legal and moral equality with all other Englishmen."

INDEX

Aberdare, Lord, 316, 338, 383, 394, 395, 454, 455.
Aberdeen, Lord, 452.
Acland, A. D., 385.
Act of Uniformity, the, 284, 301.
Æschylus, 19, 100.
Agassiz, 53.
Agrarian problem, the, 325.
Alane, A., 73.
Alexander of Parma, 33.
Allen, J. R., 171.
Anabaptists, the, 28.
Anglican Church. *See* Church of England.
Anglicanism, 29, 154, 193, 215, 218, 290, 299.
Anjou, Duke of, 34.
Anwyl, Sir Edward, 171.
Aquinas, Thomas, 11.
Archimedes, 7, 25.
Arianism, 226.
Aristophanes, 6, 7.
Aristotle, 5, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 25, 101.
Arminianism, 226.
Arnold, E. V., 395.
,, M., 148, 323.
Arran, Regent, 74, 75.
Asquith, H. H., 254, 260, 292, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 418, 423.
Aubrey, J., 442.
Auchinleck, Lord, 105.
Augustine, 8, 61, 74, 133, 179.
Awbrey, Sir J., 447.
Aytoun, R., 92, 93.
,, W. E., 93.

Bacon, Lord, 9.
Balfour, A. J., 346, 416, 420, 438.
,, of Burleigh, Lord, 451.
Ballinger, J., 403.
Barton, C., 160.
Bastiat, 453.
Baxter, R., 199, 294, 392.
,, W., 443.
Beaton, 74, 79.
Beecher, H. W., 297.
Beethoven, 321.
Bell, Sir C., 111, 112.
,, H., 115.
Bellenden, 67.
Bellot, H., 207.
Berg, H., 139.
Berkeley, G., 97, 98, 261.
Bernoullis, the, 53.
Bevan, Madam, 200, 212, 248, 370.
Beza, T., 200.
Bible, the Welsh, 208, 209, 210, 273.
Bitzius, 52.
Black, J., 87, 112, 113.
Blackader, 69, 70.
Blackie, J. S., 100.
Blair, H., 112.
Böcklin, 52.
Bonaparte. *See* Napoleon.
Bonar, H., 124.
Boniface, 78.
Boole, 87.
Boswell, J., 105, 106.
Bounty, Queen Anne's, 302, 303, 307.
Bower, W., 69, 409.
Bowsted, 373.
Brewster, Sir D., 87, 115, 116.
British Empire, 166.
Brougham, Lord, 116, 117.
Browning, R., 323, 484.
Bruce, Sir J. K., 457.
,, Robert, 134.
Brydge-Jones, Sir H., 444.
Brythons, the, 174, 175, 180.
Buchanan, G., 92.
Buckle, H. J., 84, 487.
Bunyan, J., 92.
Burckhardt, 52.
Burns, R., 92, 93, 94, 99, 101, 132, 484.
Burritt, E., 453.
Byron, Lord, 94, 95, 96, 484.

Cæsar, Julius, 32, 174, 176.
Caird, E., 488.
Calamy, E., 378.
Calvin, J., 38, 46, 47, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 133, 200, 294.
Calvinism, 61, 63, 91, 223, 224.
Calvinistic Methodists, the, 218, 226, 252, 256, 267, 282.

Cameron, J., 129.
Campbell, Sir C., 117.
,, T., 96.
Candlish, R. S., 81.
Candolle, 52.
Canning, G., 409.
Caradog, 177, 243, 458.
Carlyle, T., 70, 101, 106, 107, 133, 162, 488, 495.
Carnot, 453.
Carrington, Lord, 355, 361.
Carvell-Williams, J., 252.
Cato, 12.
Cecil, Lord H., 277.
Ceiriog, 244.
Chalmers, J., 126.
,, T., 81, 82, 112, 113, 134, 294, 495.
Chambers, R., 109.
Chapman, 104.
Charlemagne, 11, 313.
Charles I., King, 29, 195.
,, II., King, 271.
,, D., 393.
,, T., 237, 248.
Charpentier, 53.
Chateaubriand, 89.
Church, Celtic, 178.
Church, Roman Catholic, 27, 29, 54, 57, 58, 59, 67, 77, 79.
Church of England, 144, 168, 193, 194, 199, 211, 219, 221, 224, 225, 226, 241, 247, 251, 252, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 266, 272, 275, 278, 285, 286, 289, 292, 293, 294, 301, 373, 377, 380, 384, 393.
Church of Ireland, 293.
Church of Scotland, 81.
Churchill, Lord R., 452.
,, W., 433.
Civil War, the, 413.
Clerk-Maxwell, J., 108, 113, 495.
Clynnog, M., 504.
Cobden, R., 455.
Coke, T., 511.
Coleridge, S. T., 100.
Coligny, 62.
Colladon, 52.
Condé, Prince of, 62.
Confession of Faith, 86.
Congregationalism, 193.
Conquest, the Norman, 165, 175, 179, 313.
Conway, Treaty of, 184.
Cotton, Dean, 370.
,, Sir S., 460.
Coulanges, 13.
Covenanters, the, 82, 101, 134.
Cradoc, 197.
Cranmer, 60.
Craw, 72.
Croll, 110.
Cromwell, Oliver, 29, 107, 199, 294, 330, 331, 392, 459.
Crookes, Sir W., 325.
Cruden, A., 121.
Cullen, 111.
Cunningham, 81.
Cymry, the, 171, 172, 173, 174, 181, 191, 228.
Cynddelw, 245.

Dafydd ap Gwilym, 100, 481, 482.
Dafydd Ddu, 245.
Dafydd Ionawr, 243.
Dafydd, Prince, 182, 183, 185.
Dalton, 87.
Dante, 10, 313, 320, 321.
Darwin, C. R., 110, 113.
Davies, D., 471.
,, Sir D., 470.
,, D. D., 469.
,, E., 376.
,, J., 222.
,, Mrs. M., 476.
,, R., 219, 220.
,, R., 393.
,, Sir W. D., 458.
Davis, D., Castell Hywel, 245.
,, T., 424.
Davitt, M., 419.
Davy, Sir H., 87.
Democritus, 25.
Demosthenes, 7, 25, 309.
Denbury, 371.
Derby, Lord, 454.
Dewi Wyn o Eifion, 245.
Dibdin, Sir L., 265, 268.
Dickens, C., 474.
Dillon, J., 419.
Disestablishment, 234, 236, 252, 253, 254, 280, 283, 289, 290, 291–308, 448.
Disraeli, B. (Lord Beaconsfield), 250.
Disruption, the, 81, 82.
Douglas, G., 92.
Drake, Sir F., 3.
Driver, Professor, 156.
Druidism, 175.
Drummond, H., 124.
Dryden, 93.
Dubois, P., 423.
Dunbar, 78.
Durie, 73.

Eben Fardd, 245.
Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 263, 264, 286, 302, 303, 308.
Edison, T. A., 163.
Edmund of Lancaster, 183.

Edward I., King, 168, 173, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 193, 410.
Edward II., 173, 187.
Edward III., 188.
,, VI., 170.
,, VII., 299, 401.
,, Prince of Wales, 188, 438.
Edwards, Sir B., 461.
,, J., 515.
,, L., 235.
,, O. M., 171, 246.
,, T. C., 392.
,, W., 380.
Eisteddfod, the, 241, 485.
Elias, J., 220, 222, 233, 294.
Elizabeth, Queen, 3, 28, 34, 94, 169, 190, 193, 284, 334, 336, 337, 481.
Ellis, C., 247.
,, J., 242.
,, S., 465.
,, T. E., 396, 426, 427, 455, 456.
Episcopacy, 80, 81, 85, 199, 257.
Erasmus, 28, 57, 68.
Erastianism, 81, 300.
Erbury, W., 197.
Erskines, the, 81.
Euler, L., 53.
Evans, Caleb, 496, 497.
,, Christmas, 220, 221, 233.
,, H., 237, 241, 508.
,, J., 200, 211.
,, J. H., 241.
,, Sir S. T., 396, 458.
,, T., 181.
,, W., 378.

Faraday, M., 87, 108.
Ferguson, A., 99.
,, J., 87, 113.
Fergusson, R., 93.
Fielding, 14, 89.
Foley, Sir T., 462, 463.
Forbes, 87.
Forrest, 72, 73.
Forret, 74.
Foster, Sir M., 112.
,, W. E., 377.
Frederick the Great, 107.
,, William IV., 48.
Freeman, E., 487.
French Revolution, the, 412.
Froebel, 341.
Froude, J. A., 58, 487, 497.

Galt, 91.
Gardiner, 60.
Garibaldi, 64.
Garrick, 158.
Geddes, P., 112.
Gee, T., 235, 236, 341.
Geoffry of Monmouth, 177, 489, 490, 491.
George, D. Lloyd-, 197, 357, 358, 422, 433, 434, 445, 449, 450, 451.
George III., King, 469.
,, IV., 469.
,, V., 188, 299, 402, 438.
Germanus, St., 178.
Ghent, Treaty of, 33.
Gibson, J., 472.
Gill, Sir D., 144.
Girardin, E., 453.
Gladstone, W. E., 102, 236, 254, 301, 384, 416, 420, 422, 424, 448, 454, 455.
Glyn Dwr, Owain, 179, 187, 191, 335, 392, 459, 495.
Goethe, J. W., 313, 321.
Goidels, the, 174, 175.
Goodsir, J., 112.
Gore, Bishop, 289.
Gorst, Sir J., 304.
Gotthelf, 52.
Gottschalk, 61.
Gouge, T., 210. 211, 410.
Graham, Sir J., 374, 375.
Grant, R., 114.
Greece, 3–25, 94, 133.
Green, J. R., 481.
Greig, 163.
Grenville, R., 179.
Grey, Earl, 447.
Griffith, J. M., 472.
,, R., 378.
,, Sir R. J., 467.
Griffiths, H., 376.
,, J., 238, 394.
Gruffudd Grug, 190.
Guthrie, T., 81, 123.
Gwalchmai, 245.
Gwallter Mechain, 245.
Gwilym Caledfryn, 253, 291.

Halford, Sir H., 469.
Hall, B., 452.
Haller, 53.
Hamilton, A., 66.
,, P., 72, 73.
,, Sir W., 98, 99, 133, 495.
Hanmer, Sir T., 446.
Harlaw, 74.
Harley, R., 446.
Harnack, 156.
Harris, H., 213, 214, 215, 218, 225, 299.
,, J., 231.
,, S., 379.
Harte, Bret, 163.
Hatch, 156.
Hay, A., 65, 66.
,, J., 128.
Heer, 52.
Hegel, 97.

Helvetian Republic, 39, 40, 41.
Henderson, T., 114.
Henry VII., King, 414.
,, VIII., 68, 75, 79, 173, 181, 190, 193, 306, 330, 333, 336, 414, 442, 459.
Henry, M., 294.
Hepburn, 73.
Herschel, W., 87.
Hesiod, 7, 19, 21, 133.
Higher Criticism, the, 82.
Hipparchus, 7.
Hogarth, 14.
Holland. *See* the Netherlands.
Home Rule, Welsh, 426, 427, 430, 431, 436, 437.
Homer, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 21, 132, 320, 321.
Howard de Walden, Lord, 169.
Howe, J., 294.
Huguenots, the, 153, 199.
Hughes, D. E., 465.
,, Sir E., 462.
,, H. P., 507.
Hugo, Victor, 158, 163, 327, 453.
Humanism, 85.
Hume, D., 97, 98.
Humphreys, R., 393.
Humphreys-Owen, 385, 386.
Hunter, J., 111.
Huss, J., 153.
Hutton, J., 109, 110.

Ibsen, H., 163.
Ieuan Glan Geirionnydd, 245.
Ieuan Gwyllt, 241, 243.
Ieuan Gwynedd, 245.
Imperialism, 3, 4, 432.
Inclosure Acts, 331.
Initiative, the, 49.
Inquisition, the, 298.
Insurance Bill, 357.
Iolo Goch, 190.
Iolo Morganniog, 245.
Ireland, 411, 416, 417, 418.
Irving, Sir H., 158.
Islwyn, 245.

James IV., King, 70, 79, 84.
,, VI. and I., 81, 92.
Jansenists, the, 61.
Jayne, Bishop, 395.
Jebb, Sir R. C., 9.
Jeffrey, Lord, 117, 495.
Jenkins, C. V., 462.
Jeremy, W. D., 378.
Jesuits, the, 44.
John, Don, of Austria, 32, 33.
,, E. T., 427, 428, 429.
,, G., 513, 514.
Jonson, B., 93.
Johnson S., 93, 105.
Jones, A., 252, 291.
,, D., 218.
,, Sir D. B., 170, 223, 330, 481.
,, Sir E. B., 473.
,, E., 239, 240.
,, E., 461.
,, G., 200, 201, 211, 212, 213, 248, 270.
,, H., 487.
,, J., 237.
,, K., 238, 241, 323, 375, 488, 489.
,, O., 471.
,, S., 378, 379.
,, T., 226.
,, T., 470.
,, V., 323, 385, 394, 395, 467.
,, Sir W., 457.
Joule, 87.
Julian the Apostate, 372.

Kant, I., 87, 97, 98.
Keillor, 73.
Keller, 52.
Kelvin, Lord, 108, 113, 116.
Kemble, A., 476.
,, C., 479.
,, F., 479.
Kennedy, J., 128.
Kenyon, L. L., 456.
Kerr, 83.
Kettle, T. M., 411.
Knox, John, 38, 46, 47, 60, 61, 64, 70, 71, 72, 74, 80, 86, 132, 133, 134, 227, 294.
Kossuth, 64, 139.

Lancaster, J., 371.
Lang, A., 89, 132, 487.
Laplace, P. S., 87.
Laud, W., 284.
Legge, J., 129.
Leo X., Pope, 58.
Leslie, D., 117.
,, Sir J., 87, 112, 113.
Lewis, G., 249.
,, Sir G. C., 447, 448, 449.
,, T., 249.
Liberalism, 153, 166, 252, 428.
Lincoln, A., 6, 64.
Linguistic problem, the, 309–324.
Linth, 52.
Livingstone, D., 124, 125.
Llanover, Lord, 452.
Lloyd, A., 242.
,, H., 460.
,, J. E., 170, 177.
,, L., 470.
,, S. J., 470.
,, T., 503.

Llywelyn, the Great, 64, 140, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 223.
Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, 181, 188.
Locke, J., 97.
Lollards, the, 69, 72.
Longfellow, H., 163.
Louis-Philippe, 48.
Lowell, J. R., 63, 163.
Lucretius, 10.
Luther, M., 28, 38, 46, 47, 54, 57, 58, 59, 68, 133, 200, 294.
Lutheranism, 56.
Lyell, Sir C., 109, 110.
Lyndsay, Sir D., 77, 78, 79.

Macaulay, Lord, 81, 134.
Macdonald, G., 91, 474.
,, Sir J., 118, 119.
Macfarlane, S., 127.
Mackail, Professor, 9, 10.
Mackenzie, Sir G., 88.
Mackintosh, Sir J., 98, 516.
Maclaren, Ian. *See* Watson, J.
Macleod, N., 123.
Macpherson, H., 94, 108, 132.
,, J., 93.
Mansel, 99.
Mary, Queen of Scots, 92.
,, ,, England, 190.
Melanchthon, 200.
Melville, A., 80, 84, 134.
Merz, J. T., 87.
Methodism, Welsh, 197, 214, 222, 229.
Metternich, 47.
Meyer, C. F., 52.
Mill, J., 510.
,, J. S., 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 146, 487, 510.
Millais, Sir J., 163.
Miller, H., 110, 111.
Milton, J., 9, 162.
Mitchel, J., 424.
Moffat, R., 124, 125.
Monasticism, 178.
Montaigne, 92.
Montfort, S., 182, 184.
Moore, Sir J., 117.
Morgan, Sir G. O., 254, 393, 452.
,, J. E., 470.
,, J. M., 242.
,, W., 206, 207, 208, 369.
,, W., 369, 373, 374, 378.
Morris, E., 280.
,, J., 171.
,, Sir L., 394, 482.
,, W., 510.
Mortimer, 185.
Mountstephen, Lord, 118, 119.
Murchison, Sir R., 110.
Murray, J. A. W., 126.
Myll, W., 74.

Nägeli, 52.
Napier of Magdala, Lord, 117.
,, Merchiston, 83.
Napoleon Bonaparte, 40, 90, 98, 109, 251.
Nash, J., 471.
Nationalism, Welsh, 150, 151, 197, 250, 416, 435, 436, 439.
Netherlands, the (or Holland), 26–36, 64, 227.
Nichol, J. P., 114.
Nichols, T., 393.
Nightingale, F., 160.
Nisbet, J., 72.
Nonconformity, 29, 144, 146, 154, 155, 197, 199, 212, 219, 221, 225, 226, 254, 267, 274, 275, 277, 279, 280, 283, 285, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 369, 374, 438.
Nott, Sir. W., 460.

Oliphant, Mrs., 90, 475.
Olivier, 52.
Oman, C., 168.
Orpheus, 7, 21.
Owain Alaw, 242.
Owen, A., 493.
,, D., 233.
,, D. D., 468.
,, Sir E. W. C. R., 463.
,, H., 496.
,, Sir H., 376, 377, 384, 393, 455.
,, Sir I., 394, 472.
,, J., 294.
,, O., 385.
,, R. D., 468.
,, Sir R., 468.
,, Robert, 498, 499, 500, 501.
,, W. F., 463.
,, W. G., 472.
Owen-Pughe, 492, 493.
Oxford Movement, the, 247, 268.

Paget, Sir A., 443.
,, Sir C., 463.
Palmerston, Lord, 48, 448, 453, 455.
Pantheism, 175.
Park, M., 130.
Parker, T., 120.
Parnell, C. S., 422, 425.
Parry, J., 242, 243, 477.
,, R., 208.
,, Sir W. E., 464.
Paton, J. G., 130, 131.
,, Sir N., 116.
Patronage, 81.

Pelagianism, 178.
Penn, W., 446.
Penry, J., 192, 193, 194, 195.
Pericles, 436.
Pestalozzi, J., 53, 341.
Pheidias, 25.
Philip, J., 129.
,, W., 413.
,, II., of Spain, 30, 31, 298.
Phillips, Sir J., 211.
,, J., 467.
,, M., 512.
,, R., 445.
Pickering, J., 446.
Picton, Sir T., 445, 460.
Piercy, B., 472.
,, R., 472.
Pindar, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21.
Plato, 6, 7, 8, 11, 16, 22, 23, 25, 102.
Playfair, Sir L., 87.
Pliny, 24.
Plunket, Sir H., 346.
Poe, E. A., 6, 163, 488.
Pottinger, Sir H., 444, 445.
Powell, D., 207.
,, F. Y., 497.
,, H. W., 461.
,, Sir J., 457.
,, T., 512.
,, V., 197.
Praxiteles, 25.
Prayer-Book, the, 271, 272, 273, 286.
Preece, Sir W. H., 406.
Presbyterianism, 81.
Price, Sir J., 414, 441.
,, R., 498.
Prichard, R., 195, 197, 198.
Priestley, 87.
Pritchard, E., 471.
Proportional Representation, 437.
Protestantism, 51, 63, 101, 133, 221, 276, 302.
Prys, E., 207.
Pugh, H., 252, 291.
Puritanism, 89, 143, 144, 157, 159, 166, 197, 199, 221.
Pythagoras, 7, 25.

Quakers, the, 29, 287.

Rabelais, 62.
Raeburn, Sir H., 116.
Raikes, R., 248.
"Raine, Allen," 473, 474.
Rainy, R., 81.
Raleigh, Sir W., 3.
Ramsay, A., 93.
Rankine, M., 108.
Redmond, J., 348, 349, 423, 424.
Rees, D., 232, 233, 240, 374.
,, H., 393.
,, Sir J., 445.
,, W., 231, 232, 245, 487.
Referendum, the, 49.
Reformation, the, 47, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64, 68, 70, 71, 75, 76, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 223, 229, 294, 377, 483.
Reformers, the, 26, 27, 36, 57, 75, 77, 84, 227.
Reichel, H., 394.
Reid, Sir G., 116.
,, T., 98.
Renaissance, the, 84.
Renan, E., 13.
Rendel, Lord, 394, 402.
Reseby, 72.
Revival of 1904–1905, 226, 227, 260.
Revolution Settlement, 81.
Rhys, Sir J., 170, 311, 312, 329, 467, 486.
Rhys ap Maredudd, 186.
,, M. J., 248, 253.
,, ap Tewdwr, 483.
Richard, H., 375, 453, 454.
Richards, Sir R., 458.
Robert III., King, 68.
Roberts, E., 509.
,, R., 465.
,, S., 234, 292.
Robertson, W., 98.
Rogers, H., 16.
Roman Catholicism, 46, 51, 80, 190.
Roman Empire, 176, 188.
Romanism. *See* Roman Catholicism.
Romanticism, 240.
Rome, Church of. *See* Church, Roman Catholic.
Rosebery, Lord, 395.
Rough, 74.
Rowland, Daniel, 213, 218, 225, 299.
Runciman, W., 373.
Russell, Earl, 372.
Rütimeyer, 52.

St. David's College, 381, 382, 383, 384, 393, 395.
Salesbury, W., 206, 207.
Saussure, 53.
Savonarola, 58, 62, 153.
Schickert, 344, 345.
Scotland, 54–135.
Scott, Sir W., 76, 89, 90, 91, 99, 100, 148, 169, 239, 320, 488.
Shakespeare, W., 9, 11, 90, 93, 158, 162, 321, 491.
Siddons, S., 158, 479.
Simeon, 89.

Simpson, Sir J. Y., 114, 115.
Simson, 87.
Sismondi, 52.
Small Holdings Act, the, 361, 366, 367.
Smith, Adam, 98, 101.
,, J., 446.
Smollett, 88, 89.
Socialism, 104, 166, 204, 298, 328, 365.
Socrates, 6, 16, 22, 25, 101.
Solon, 12.
Somerset, 60.
Sonderbund, the, 48.
Sophocles, 6.
Southey, R., 100.
Spencer, H., 487.
Spencer, Lord, 385.
Stanley, Dean, 494.
,, Sir H. M., 464, 465.
Stephen, Sir L., 487.
Stephens, E., 242, 243.
Stepney, G., 444.
Stevens, D. R., 374.
Stevenson, R. L., 91, 488.
Stewart, B., 108.
,, D., 98.
Strathcona, Lord, 118, 119.
Studer, 52.
Sturge, J., 453.
Switzerland, 37–53, 319.

Tait, P. G., 108, 113.
,, Archbishop, 124, 495.
Tennyson, 158, 163, 484.
Terry, 158.
Tetzel, 59.
Thales, 7, 25.
Thirlwall, 383.
Thomas, F. J., 463.
,, H. O., 469.
,, J., 238.
,, M., 379.
,, O., 235, 237, 371.
,, S. G., 466.
,, T., 379, 380.
Thomas à Kempis, 55.
Thomson, J., 108.
,, J., 116.
,, J. A., 112.
,, Sir W. *See* Kelvin, Lord.
Thucydides, 7, 25.
Titelmann, 30.
Töpffer, 52.
Toqueville, De, 453.
Torrington, Earl of, 463.
Trade Unions, 29.
Trent, Council of, 55.
Trevor, Sir J., 446.
Trevor, Sir T., 456.
Tudor period, 140.
Turner, G., 127.
"Twain, Mark," 163.
Tyndale, 75.

Undenominationalism, 29.
Union, the Anglo-Welsh, 414, 415, 416.
Unitarianism, 226.
Utilitarianism, 101, 102.
Utrecht, Union of, 35.

Vaughan, Cardinal, 272, 505.
,, Sir C. R., 443.
,, Dean, 505.
,, J., 201.
,, R., 413.
Veitch, 99.
Venetz, 53.
Victoria, Queen, 370, 408, 410, 469.
Vinet, 52.
Virgil, 313.
Vivian, Sir R. H., 461.
Vogt, 52.
Voltaire, 46, 162.

Wagner, 344, 345.
Waldlaw, J. S., 128.
Wallace, Sir W., 134.
Walpole, H., 93, 98.
Ward, Mrs. H., 475.
Wardlaw, Bishop, 409.
Watson, J., 91.
Watt, J., 112, 114.
Wedderburn, 76.
Werner, 110.
Wesley, C., 214, 226.
,, J., 214, 294.
Whitefield, G., 214.
Whitgift, 193, 207.
Whitman, W., 163.
Wilkie, Sir D., 116.
William the Conqueror, 410.
,, IV., 469.
,, the Silent, 26, 31, 32, 34, 35, 64.
Williams, E. V., 458.
,, Sir J., 404, 407.
,, J., 445.
,, J., 494, 495.
,, J., 509.
,, Miss J., 474.
,, Sir M., 494.
,, P., 215.
,, R., 495.
Wilson, A., 108.

Wilson, A., 113.
,, J. (Christopher North), 99.
,, R., 473.
Winzet, 67.
Wishart, G., 72.
Wolf, R., 53.
Wollaston, Sir H., 87.
Woosnam, R., 444.
Wordsworth, W., 100.
Wycliffe, J., 69, 73, 75.
Wyndham, G., 417.
Wynn, Sir C. W. W., 447.
,, E., 195, 196.
,, Sir H. W. W., 444.
Wynne, E., 476.

Yonge, Miss, 90.
Young, T., 87.

Zwingli, 28.

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